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Sloan, John M.

Nearness of kin: its
principle in scripture...

Edinburgh

1873

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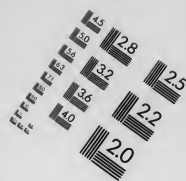
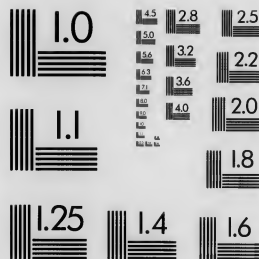
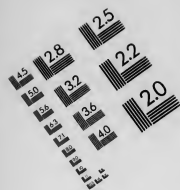
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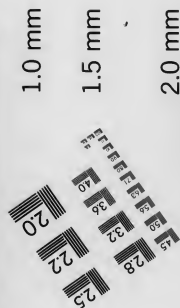
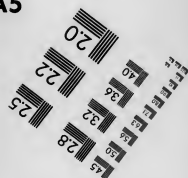
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NEARNESS OF KIN: 308 2

ITS PRINCIPLE

IN SCRIPTURE, AND IN NATURE;

WITH ITS APPLICATION TO OUR SOCIAL RELATIONS.

BY THE

REV. JOHN M. SLOAN, M.A.,

FREE SOUTH CHURCH, ABERDEEN.

EDINBURGH:

EDMONSTON AND DOUGLAS.

MDCCCLXXIII.

18

PREFATORY NOTE.

THIS discourse, preached in the Free South Church, Aberdeen, on the 23d inst., is published by the request of the Elders of the Congregation. While the scriptural argument alone is here dealt with, and is the prime consideration in the settlement of the whole question, the social aspects of it are also of the utmost consequence; and as read in the light of the experience of other lands, as well as in that of reason, afford, in the author's opinion, a substantial corroboration of the conclusion herein scripturally arrived at, and also an independent basis on which to rest opposition to the proposed legislation.

FREE S. MANSE, ABERDEEN,
Feb. 26, 1873.

NEARNESS OF KIN:

ITS PRINCIPLE IN SCRIPTURE AND IN NATURE.

* None of you shall approach unto any that is near of kin,' etc.—LEV. xviii. 6 ff.

THE question which it is my purpose at this time to examine in the light of Scripture, is, in one of its bearings, every now and again forced on the attention of the country and the Church.

It is a question that we fain would have nothing to do with; and we heartily wish that it could have remained where the legislation of 300 years ago left it. But these are days in which all legislation of the antique sort is being universally revised. Laws the most venerable are made to accommodate themselves to modern views and circumstances; or, if retained, they must vindicate for themselves the right to continue in force.

Within very recent years we have seen much that was old in the statute-book disappear with abundant noise, opening up wide and hopeful prospects; and there has been much exultation over the downfall of what was believed to stand only on injustice, or what was unsuitable to the requirements of the age. We cannot wonder, then,—we need not regret, that some should, with desire for change and with hopes for improvement, address themselves now to problems affecting social morality and the relationships of domestic life.

With matters of a purely political nature the minister of the gospel, as such, has nothing to do. But he is, or ought to be, profoundly interested in all legislation affecting morality. He is under sacred obligation, if he believes that there is a Bible-law of marriage at all which is binding on Christians still, to do what in him lies to prevent so great a disaster as a collision between what Scripture teaches with respect to it and the enactments of Parliament. We can scarcely over-estimate the unhappy effects of such a collision. If the Churches abide by their standards, all who marry within the prohibited degrees must be cast out of their pale; and if any Church abandon the teaching of its standards on this question, merely at the hint or bidding of Parliament, this will be a result even more lamentable—an uncovering of a moral nuisance even more offensive.

Still, be it observed, this is said on the understanding only that the law, as it at present stands, has the Bible warrant.

Our forefathers of 300 years ago may have been mistaken on this point. Though they could die for conscience' sake they may have misinterpreted Scripture; and it is with this possibility in view, that we say it is not to be regretted that such agitation from time to time of the question of the lawfulness of marriage with a deceased wife's sister, compels our attention to the Bible afresh, and makes us read with a keener scrutiny what the Law and the Testimony say on the subject; or, whether for us in these days, they have anything to say regarding it at all.

If in the end it be found that the Churches, with their standards, have been in the wrong, it will be to them a lesson both humbling and useful; and will show that a

christianized public feeling may come to be a more correct exponent of the spirit of Scripture, and a safer guide to its interpretation, than the creeds and articles of our Churches, and the minds of men cast in the mould of these. It will show that traditionary interpretations of texts and passages of Scripture may be corrected by the advancing moral convictions of a community, even as they have been corrected in the case of Genesis i., by advancing geological science. But whether it do show this, or show something very different, the attitude of all should be, humbly and reverently to sit at the feet of Scripture, and to fear no consequences. If the marriage in question, and such like alliances, are proved to be in conformity with the revealed will of God, then, how bodeful soever the vaticinations of some may be, let us not fear but that society, which is also of God, will derive good from them; while, on the other hand, if they be wrong, all the learned names that can be quoted in their favour, with their reasons, instead of their opinions, to boot, and all the Acts of Parliament in the world will not prevent them from becoming surely and gradually a blight and a curse to society and the Church.

I. In dealing with this subject I would notice, in the first place, that, in this 18th chapter of Leviticus, we have to do with the Mosaic law respecting the degrees within which MARRIAGE is prohibited. It is a marriage-law that is here before us. This is not a series of laws against special kinds of fornication and adultery. All fornication and adultery are forbidden without exception; and it would be to impute worse than foolishness to the legislator whose laws are here before us, to say that they deal

with mere acts of uncleanness. What would you think of legislation regarding theft, that prohibited the stealing of some dozen articles or so? or, regarding murder, that specified certain classes of people who were on no account to be assassinated?

In proof of our statement, if proof were needed, we might advert to John the Baptist's condemnation of the conduct of Herod in marrying Herodias, his brother Philip's wife. He proceeds on the marriage-law contained in this chapter, when he declares 'it is not lawful for thee to have thy brother's wife' (Mark vi. 18). He condemns it, not as an immorality, but as an illegality.¹ It was a union odious indeed on other grounds, but here condemned as being within the prohibited degrees.

Some may ask, if it is marriage that is here referred to, why it is not more definitely mentioned? Why should the act prohibited be always spoken of, not as marriage, but as 'the uncovering of the nakedness'? Perhaps, had another term with which we are more familiar been employed, this objection would not have been started. Had we read, 'thou shalt not commit incest with,' etc., it would have occurred to all, that what is condemned includes both marriage and acts of uncleanness.

No legal ceremony can modify the iniquity in such a case. It is incest in the single instance; it is incest though the connection last for life. And hence, as Gesenius says, 'these words, "to uncover the nakedness," always designate something abominable and vile.' There is a peculiar turpitude in the class of connections here prohibited; turpitude which no ceremonial of marriage can remove or mitigate.

¹ So Josephus, Renan, Alford, etc.

II. A second particular to be noted in respect of the laws before us, is, that they are WORLD-WIDE in their scope. They are in no exclusive sense Mosaic, Old Testament, or Israelitish laws.

We are here reminded of the reason assigned for God's sanctifying the Sabbath, and imposing the observance of one day in seven as a day of rest on all men: 'for in six days the Lord made heaven, and earth, the sea, and all that in them is, and rested the seventh day: WHEREFORE the Lord blessed the Sabbath day, and hallowed it.' The reason assigned is based on the creation-work, and consequently binds the command not on Israel alone, but on humanity.

We observe, in reading this chapter, that the practices of the Egyptians and the Canaanites, who contracted marriages within the degrees here prohibited, are most strongly condemned. We are told that 'in ALL THESE the nations are defiled which I cast out before you: and the land is defiled: THEREFORE do I visit the iniquity thereof upon it, and the land itself vomiteth out her inhabitants' (vv. 24, 25). Again, we read in v. 30: 'Therefore shall ye keep mine ordinance, that ye commit not any one of these abominable customs which were committed before you, and that ye defile not yourselves therein: I am the Lord your God.'

The preface to these laws, therefore, and the last seven verses of this 18th chapter, clearly indicate that such practices as are here prohibited were gross abominations even in the heathen: grievous abominations which were highly culpable, notwithstanding that they had no written law condemning them. The light of nature should have taught them differently. But they had neglected the

purser instincts of their nature: they had gone on from sin to sin; from one degree of moral darkness and obtuseness to another, until God left them utterly to a reprobate mind. And so, deviations from purity, which began with fornication and adultery, gradually developed into incest, and by and by into the unnameable and publicly unreadable brutalities of bestiality.

It is very instructive that alongside of these laws against incest should be placed such laws as those contained in vv. 19 to 23. It teaches us that sin darkens into ever deeper hues. Blunt the moral sensibilities by one act, by one false opinion, and you make your own nature a traitor against itself. You enlist reason on the side of error. You are moving down an inclined plane with reason as a pilot-engine, and conscience no longer acting as a break. What a procession of unsightly shapes moves before us here—incest, uncleanness, adultery, idolatry, sodomy, bestiality! And are we to suppose that all these came in at once upon the Canaanites even, and the Egyptians? Did not evil conduct induce, first, excusings of the sin, and then defendings, and by and by commendings of it?

We have the whole dark history presented in the closing verses of Romans i., and we see there, that not only is moral deterioration possible, and a law of our fallen nature, but that God exhibits His sorest judgments against sin in permitting such ruinous deterioration.

There are worse consequences to be dreaded than errors in legislation. The laws upon the statute-book are capable of being repealed. And many a law placed there once amid the hosannas of bygone generations, have, in these days, been cast out with no little ignominy, as never

having had aught of saving virtue in them, but much of the opposite. And laws which have been, and which may be placed on the statute-book in our own times, with all the boastfulness and arrogance peculiar to the living—seeing that the living are ever prone to fancy that they enjoy the monopoly of the wisdom and virtue of all time—may yet be cast out with indignation as unjust and immoral in their tendency by our wiser and purer-minded grand-children. Thus the errors of legislation, so far as the statute-book is concerned, may be rectified. The pages of it whereon they are, whether as printed or obliterated, sustain no injury. But legislation that is unscriptural in principle and immoral in tendency, writes itself as with corrosive ink upon the souls of multitudes. For there are many who do not believe in the Bible, or not to any purpose, who do believe in Acts of Parliament. They have not the spirit of Christ, nor care to have, but they glory in the spirit of the age. They have no faith in the plenary inspiration of God's Word, but they very much believe in that of their favourite M.P., and of the newspaper which they patronise. And upon these men such legislation works as a scripture from the Evil One. It is a leaven that infects and vitiates the mind of youth, which is so apt to glory only in emancipation. It works itself down into social opinion; it by and by deteriorates social morality; it lowers the temperature of the moral and spiritual atmosphere incalculably, and throws back the grandest work on earth, even the world's regeneration, and the perfecting of the Church of Christ, to the grieving of the Holy Ghost, and the triumph of the Wicked One.

The law of marriage contained in this chapter is, we maintain, a law for all nations and for all time. It is a

lasting and explicit expression given to the law written of God in the human conscience.

'Even nature itself,' the apostle tells us, 'teaches us, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame to him.' And 'even nature itself,' unless corrupted by evil practice and perverse reasoning, teaches that incest, such as is here prohibited, is 'abomination,' is 'wickedness.' So long, therefore, as man's nature retains aught of the image of God, so long these laws are binding upon it.

If we reject the law as here enunciated, or the authority by which it is supported, viz., the sanction of God's Word and the voice of man's own moral instincts, let us see where we stand. Reject these laws, and we have no law of marriage at all save what the legislature of the land may be pleased to supply. We have no standard to go by if we put these laws, and that authority on which they rest, aside. And if so, then what a prospect opens! Marriage with one's own sister would be lawful if the legislature were led so to decree! There would, in short, be no prohibited degrees whatever, save such as changeable enactments of men might institute. Do we not instinctively feel that this cannot be? Do we not feel that there are degrees of kinship that no law on earth could enable us with easy conscience to invade? Our nature, subordinate only to Scripture, is the supreme court of appeal; and our nature revolts against the doctrine.

There is, then, a law on this subject superior to Acts of Parliament. There is a law written in our hearts: the same law as was written in the hearts of Egyptians and Canaanites of old—but by them disregarded to their own undoing—the same law of incest which we find here transcribed in clear lines by the pen of Israel's lawgiver.

III. Another particular we would now call attention to, viz., that in these verses we have only SPECIMENS of the degrees within which it is forbidden to marry.

Now, is this true, or is it not? Have we here the whole list of prohibited degrees, or only specimen-instances?

(1.) I would say, in the first place, that it is impossible we can have a complete list here, for there is here, for example, no prohibition of a father marrying his own daughter.

Perhaps you say, 'O nature itself teaches that: no use for any such command.' Well, it is satisfactory to hear it admitted, after all, that nature has a voice: but, because nature has with some so feeble a voice, it is expressly forbidden (v. 7) that a son should marry his mother. If nature teaches the one thing, it equally teaches the other. And the fact that Scripture here condemns the son's marrying his mother, and says nothing about a father's marrying his daughter, a union in no way less revolting, is to be explained only by the fact, that specimen-instances are here adduced.

There is, so far as I can see, no prohibition here of a man marrying his full-sister. The 9th verse appears to prohibit the marrying of a half-sister by marriage; that is, where husband and wife have both been previously married, and had issue by their first partners, their children, though no blood relationship subsists between them, are prohibited from marrying, as being brothers and sisters. The 11th verse, too, prohibits marrying a half-sister by blood. We say, then, that there appears to be no distinct prohibition of a man marrying his full-sister.

There is here, moreover, no law forbidding a man's

marrying his niece by blood, *i.e.*, his own brother's or sister's daughter; and yet the nephew is prohibited from marrying his aunt. And further, while a man is forbidden (v. 17) to marry his grand-daughter, he is not forbidden to marry his grandmother, where the relationship is of the same degree of nearness.

Now, with these facts before us, it is simply impossible to say that we have in these verses a complete list of the prohibited cases. We think it must be admitted that we have but specimens and illustrative instances; for, if these do exhaust the list of prohibitions, what are we to say of a father marrying his own daughter, an uncle marrying his brother's daughter, a man marrying his own sister, or even his grandmother?

We, therefore, accept it as proved—that we have here but samples which embody the principle that pervades these laws regarding the prohibited degrees.

It may be said, 'then, if these are but samples, fewer would have sufficed.' But we must consider that Israel had had serious disadvantages to contend with in the way of retaining right views on this question. Apart from Egyptian practice, outstanding men of their own nation and ancestry had set an example, which, unless pointedly corrected, would do grievous harm, and pervert the national conscience.

Abraham had married his own half-sister by blood (Gen. xx. 12). Jacob was the husband of two sisters at one and the same time; while the father of Moses, Israel's great law-giver, had married his own aunt (Exod. vi. 20). All these cases required special correctives: Jacob's example, by a law against incest and bigamy, and Abraham's, and Amram's, by laws against incest alone. These, and

similar considerations, will explain why, when specimen-instances are given, they should be given with a measure of copiousness.

(2.) Another point which it is essential to notice, confirming the view that here we have but specimen-instances, is, that the law, as here stated, proceeds upon the line of the duty of the man alone. Not one of the prohibitions is put in the form of how the woman is to regulate her conduct in this matter of marriage. Was this because woman was not supposed to have any conscience in the matter? and that all the obligation to avoid incest lay only on the man? If there is no law for the woman, then, when she is guilty of incest, there is for her no transgression (Rom. iv. 15): the man alone must bear the sin. Or, if the law under which woman lies is written in her heart, then, as written there, it must be the converse of what is written in the man's heart; and must, consequently, be the converse of what is recorded here in the 18th chapter of Leviticus. Are we not constrained, therefore, to say, that when woman seeks to know her duty in this matter, and what are for her the prohibited degrees, she must trace, from her own standpoint, the very same lines and degrees of relationship as are here particularised for the guidance of the man?

I confess that, in these days, when men so chivalrously advocate Woman's Rights, it would, to my mind, appear to be infinitely more graceful and respectful to her, to place first on the list of her rights to be vindicated—not the right to have a vote, but the right of woman to have a conscience: the right of woman to have an interest in these divine laws in Leviticus: the right and obligation of woman to read these laws truly and fully forth from

her own standpoint, and to see that the law that binds the son binds the daughter: the law that binds the brother binds the sister: the law that binds the husband binds the wife: the law that binds a man in respect of a brother's wife binds a woman in respect of her *sister's husband*,—and in all these, and suchlike cases, binds the man and woman equally. We have said that not one single law in these twelve verses (7–18) is given explicitly to the woman: they are all for the man. And we ask, is she, therefore, left utterly without a law in the matter? Is she only to take *some* of the laws that are laid on the man, and read them from her standpoint? or, is she to take them all, and see how they, one and all, affect her duty, and ought to regulate her conduct?

On these grounds then, we insist, that we have in these verses but specimen-instances of unlawful marriages. Some manifestly incestuous in their nature are omitted; while not one speaks pointedly to the case of the woman.

IV. Let us now consider the question of NEARNESS OF KIN, which is specified as a valid ground against marriage.

The closest union recognised throughout is that which is old as Eden: the oneness of husband and wife. In various forms that is affirmed again and again. Indeed, it is not so much affirmed as assumed. They are virtually identified. Dishonour done to a mother is the father's dishonour (v. 7). 'Thou shalt not approach to thy father's brother's wife' (v. 14), 'she is thine aunt.' She is treated as one flesh with thy father's brother: she is treated as thy father's own sister: 'she is thine aunt.'

So, in the 16th verse, a brother's wife is placed on the same footing as the brother himself: 'it is thy brother's

nakedness.' The virtual identification is complete. More need not be said on this point, though the key of the position is here: the husband and wife are, in a very solemn, and sacred, and mysterious sense, one flesh.

Apart from this relation of marriage oneness, there is also a relation of 'nearness of kin' which affects the prohibited degrees.

Three times the expression, 'near kinswoman,' is employed in these verses. In verse 12, brother and sister are said to be 'near of kin:' 'thy father's sister is his near kinswoman.' In v. 13, two sisters are said to be near kinswomen; while, in v. 17, a woman and her daughter, and also her grand-daughter, are called near kinswomen.

Near kinship, therefore, in these three instances, is specified as a bar to lawful marriage. Observe, not that the parties are, in these instances, spoken of as near of kin to *you*, so to speak, but as near of kin to one another. Thy father's sister is thy *father's* near kinswoman: thy mother's sister is thy *mother's* near kinswoman: thy wife's daughter or grand-daughter is thy *wife's* near kinswoman. Daughterhood, sisterhood, therefore constitute that nearness of kin which is a bar to marriage.

The incestuousness of the connection consists in the being 'near of kin.' And if a father's sister is the father's near kinswoman, and a mother's sister the mother's near kinswoman, is not the wife's sister the wife's near kinswoman? It is sisterhood all round. It is the same degree—identically the same degree of 'nearness,' viz., sisterhood: and in violating that barrier of 'nearness,' the crime of incest consists. To marry a deceased wife's sister is undeniably to marry your wife's near kinswoman.

It is true, there is here no blood-relationship, as there is between you and a father's sister, and between you and a mother's sister; but if, as is admitted, a man and his wife are one flesh, what is his wife's sister to him? Is she not his sister? Or, if she survive her sister, does she cease to be the 'near kinswoman' of the deceased wife?

If it is reverted to, that there is no blood-relationship subsisting between a man and his deceased wife's sister, we have but to say that there are incestuous marriages possible between those who have not one drop of family blood in common—marriages condemned expressly in these verses, and also by common consent. May a man, for example, marry his step-daughter (v. 17), though they are not related by blood? or his step-mother (v. 8)? or his half-sister by affinity (v. 9)? or his father's brother's wife (v. 14)? or his daughter-in-law (v. 15)? These are cases in point. No blood-relation subsists between them: yet intermarriage would be incestuous.

There are, therefore, three distinct reasons contained in this passage prohibitory of marriage with a deceased wife's sister:—

1. The oneness of husband and wife constitutes the husband the brother, in so far as marriage is concerned, of his wife's sister.

2. The wife's sister, reading this 16th verse as a law to guide her, reads thus—'Thy sister's husband is forbidden to thee, even as his brother's wife is forbidden to him.' If two brothers may not successively have the same wife, two sisters may not successively have the same husband.

3. The fact that the wife's sister is 'near of kin' to the deceased wife, further, and by the sanction of the general law, imposes a bar to marriage with the husband.

Time forbids my doing more than saying that affinity and consanguinity impose restrictions to marriage to precisely the same degree—viz., the second degree. For instance—(v. 7)—a mother is one step removed by blood; (v. 8) a step-mother, one step by affinity; (v. 9) a half-sister by affinity, two steps; (v. 10) a grand-daughter, two steps by blood; (v. 11) a half-sister by blood, two steps; (vv. 12 and 13) an aunt by blood, two steps; (v. 14) an aunt by affinity, two steps; (v. 15) a daughter-in-law, one step by affinity; (v. 16) a sister-in-law, *one step* by affinity; (v. 17) a step-daughter, one step by affinity; and a step-grand-daughter, two steps by affinity.

It will be seen that the furthest degree expressly prohibited is the second, whether by affinity or blood. Hence it is that marriages between cousins are in consonance with the laws before us. Cousins stand to each other at the third remove in blood-relationship—to the father or mother, one step, to the uncle or aunt, two, and to the cousin, three steps. It is further very noteworthy and significant, that, of the twelve or thirteen cases here expressly prohibited, there are *seven* in which the relationship is by *affinity*,—being in the others by consanguinity. Surely this indubitably shows, as already noted, that incest is possible in numerous cases where not one drop of family blood is common to the parties guilty of it.

A statement made above to the effect that two brothers might not in succession have the same wife, needs a word of explanation. Many of you know that, in a particular case, the Mosaic law commanded, or at least strongly countenanced, such a marriage, viz., when the first brother died childless (Deut. xxv. 5). In order to perpetuate his name and prevent his family from dying out in Israel, and

his inheritance from passing into other hands, such marriages, in this special case, were sanctioned. But the law, save in that exceptional case, was what stands here in v. 16, and it is repeated in still stronger terms in chap. xx. 21.

V. We have now, in closing, to call your attention to v. 18, and the bearing which it has on the law we have been considering.

This verse runs as follows:—'Neither shalt thou take a wife to her sister to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other, in her lifetime.' We have maintained that v. 16 forbids marriage with a deceased wife's sister; that the law dealing with that matter is to be found there. The advocates of such marriages build entirely, I may say, so far as Scripture is concerned, on this verse. Let us, therefore, briefly examine it.

(1.) Notice first, that in the margin the alternative translation is given, 'Neither shalt thou take ONE WIFE TO ANOTHER to vex her, to uncover her nakedness, beside the other, in her lifetime.' It is a fact that the words rendered, 'a wife to her sister,' are frequently in Scripture translated, 'one to another,' and must be so translated. We give three instances. In Exod. xxvi. 3 we read, 'The five curtains shall be coupled together *one to another*.' The Hebrew words in that passage for 'one to another' are identical with those in this 18th verse, rendered, 'a wife to her sister.' In Ezekiel i. 9 we read, 'Their wings were joined *one to another*.' Again, the identical words as are here rendered 'a wife to her sister.' Once more, in Ezekiel iii. 13, we have the words, 'the wings of the living creatures that touched *one another*;' where, once more, the

Hebrew words are identical with those before us. Without dispute, then, frequent Scripture instances, of which these are a sample, show that 'one to another' is a natural, unforced, and, in many cases, necessary translation of the words in question. I do not mean to press this fact, save in this way: that—when this translation of the phrase, which other passages show to be warrantable, and even necessary, is employed here—it simply removes this verse from having to do with the question relating to a deceased wife's sister altogether, and applies it to cases of bigamy. I do not however say, that the present translation is wrong; but I do say, that no one can maintain that the *marginal* translation is certainly wrong; or, that it has not the sanction of several other passages of Scripture where it occurs. And, calling earnest attention to the uncertainty now indicated, I would cry aloud, 'Is it not hazardous—is it not wanton, to stake the whole question on this one text?'—a text which equally well bears a translation that makes it a prohibition of bigamy.

Surely, in the face of verse 16, and what is to be said on its bearing on the subject, it is not consistent with a sacred reverence for truth or purity, to stake the whole Scripture argument on such a verse as this disputed 18th. Is it anything short of the commission of the odious sin of incest that the woman has to dread, when she considers what bearing, if any, verse 16 has upon her conduct in respect of marriage? She must have her way made very clear—clearer than a peradventure; clearer than an unsettled translation of one single verse will make it: or else she is prepared recklessly to run a very awful risk. There is, however, a peradventure. Peradventure the present translation is the proper one. Peradventure the

prohibition is not a prohibition of bigamy—'one wife to another'; nor a prohibition of two sisters in succession—but simply of two sisters at one and the same time, as in the case of Jacob. Well, if so, then it is the dangerous example of Jacob that is glanced at here, and held forth as a warning. Patriarch though he was, he was guilty both of incest and bigamy. The incest of such a marriage has already been condemned in verse 16; the bigamy of it, and its evil and 'vexatious' consequences are here, in the 18th verse, set forth as an aggravation of such sin. The incestuous nature of the connection would continue even were the lawful wife to die; but the 'vexing of her,' which is one chief point noted in the verse, by such incest and its consequences, would be possible only 'in her lifetime.'

And further, if men contend that the restriction, 'thou shalt not take one wife to her sister . . . in her lifetime,' implies that thereafter, however, they may do so, then must they also hold that this very verse which warrants, as they think, such a marriage, also warrants the having two wives at the same time, provided they are not sisters. The inference is certainly as valid in the one case as it is in the other. Nor is it to be said, 'But Christ Jesus in the New Testament forbids bigamy—the one inference from the verse—while He does not forbid marriage with the sister after the wife's decease—the other inference.' For it were passing strange if, in this solitary particular, our Lord's teaching should even appear by one iota to relax the moral precepts of the Old Testament dispensation. For the hardness of their hearts, in Old Testament times, men were permitted, for trifling causes, to divorce their wives; even the having more wives than one was not dealt with as a great outstanding moral or civil offence;

concubinage was put under tolerative regulations; while, in another region of things, slavery was legislated about; and private revenge, by the hand of the avenger of blood, was allowed. Israel's darkened moral sense; Israel's entanglements in heathen surroundings and practices led to these imperfect laws. But when Christ came, the full blaze of moral purity burst forth in His teaching. Instead of divorce, and bigamy, and concubinage being tolerated—'Whoso LOOKETH upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed ADULTERY with her already in his heart!' Instead of private revenge—'Pray for them that despitefully use you and persecute you'; 'Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do!' Instead of slavery getting a footing under the gospel of Christ, see what the power of its spirit has done to emancipate the slave throughout Christendom!

The whole legislation of Christ in its thoroughness, in its purity, in its inwardness, in its jealous scrutiny of thoughts, and intents, and motives, is immensely in advance of such legislation as we have glanced at: and yet THIS, men would have us believe, is the legislator, the Lord Jesus Christ, who, while He has condemned the bigamy which one inference from the 18th verse seems to countenance, has been so tender and considerate as not to breathe one word against that inference from it which the 16th verse, as we have seen, brands as incestuous!

We think we may say of Scotland, 'We have not so learned Christ.' The laws of the New Testament breathe an atmosphere of divine purity wherever they touch on the relationships of man and woman. They are the counterpart in the New Testament, and in a fallen world too, of that unutterably holy statement of the Old, 'And

they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed'—a statement full of the fragrance and innocence of a lost Paradise.

We think, then, that on grounds of Scripture, we are called upon resolutely and unweariedly to resist the proposed legislation on this marriage-law that is again before the country. We oppose it on these grounds herein set forth, considering them to be scriptural and valid; and until they are proved to be neither, we must, to be loyal to truth, abide by them, and treat as matters only of respectful curiosity those mere 'opinions' of eminent and excellent men on the other side, which have been so industriously, and at so great expense, circulated throughout the country, in order to overwhelm the public mind.

Time forbids my saying anything, were I disposed to do so, on other bearings of the question. But, to mention nothing else, I would oppose this legislation in the interest of the good name, and loving sisterly heart of many a noble woman, who sacrifices much, that she may be a sister indeed in the darkened home, and a mother indeed to the bereaved children. Need I say, that were this law to be enacted, the higher the principle, the more sensitive the modesty in any female bosom, the more difficult would it be for her to do a sister's part when nature's need is sorest, and earth's sympathy most sweet. Far removed from such a home itself as might be aught that could bring a blush to the cheek, earth is not so destitute of slanderous tongues and evil-suspecting minds as to suffer innocence and modesty to dwell at peace within it.

How lovely the relationship and intercourse of brothers and sisters! How unrestrained their fellowship, and yet how holy! None who brings not a soul from the pit,

would darken it with a thought of pollution. Holy is the relation of children to parents, by which such a fellowship of brothers and sisters is consecrated. Have we thought of how truly holy and hallowing the marriage-relation is, in that it so makes man and woman one, that the one can say to the other, 'And thy people are my people'? Holier views of marriage would consecrate to us the relationship of sister-in-law.

God grant that that day be far from our beloved land—God's blessing be on those who labour to prevent its ever coming—when legislation shall make it possible, that either in the home or in the public mind, a single thought, such as would be devilish if cherished regarding a sister, should be harboured for a moment regarding the sister of a deceased wife.

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De Kay, John

An appeal to the dreamers
and toilers

Bern

1919

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An Appeal to the Dreamers and Toilers

by

John de Kay

Author of

"The World Allies"

A Survey of Nationalism,
Labour and World-Trade,
and a Remedy for Wage=
Slavery and War



The following is chapter 17
of "The World Allies", pu=
blished in Switzerland in the
autumn of 1917

gift of the author

7/12/19

8 June 1920 Jms

AN APPEAL TO THE DREAMERS AND TOILERS.

I think I have arrived by various routes at a point which makes it clear that in all important concerns of economics and government the world is under the unethical supremacy of the strong. The general misery of the helpless masses may be traced to the operation of the primitive instincts which have controlled mankind through the ages. These instincts cannot be changed. In the present conflict, inaugurated and continued by plutocracy, the masses are unable to obtain the slightest relief from any system of religion, or from any of the institutions which rest upon the toil of generations of the common man.

Their boasted structures of liberty, equality and fraternity have been stifled under mountains of shot and shell. The world is bankrupt and millions of patient toilers are buried together with the lost wealth which was created by the patient labour, the deprivation and misery of a world of underpaid toilers through generations. These poor men had no quarrel with one another. They were friends, but the forces which have operated to destroy them during the past three years will remain in operation and will again and again bring havoc upon the earth unless they are brought under the control of a superior power. This power can never be created or applied through governments. It must rest exclusively in the hands of toil. It must be able to accord or withhold its sanction respecting all events of consequence affecting the life of mankind and it must be sufficiently final and arbitrary in its vast power to make its deci-

sions a mandate or a veto concerning all the policy and conduct of industrialism and governments.

The toilers cannot take out of the hands of governments the powers which have been accorded by the ruling caste by any measures which depend for their success upon the action of governments.

The principle of liberty remains as a theory which has been confided to the keeping of legislators, but the practice of legislators is to substitute despotism for liberty whenever it suits the interests of the ruling caste to take back what has nominally been accorded as rights to the masses. It is to put an end to this travesty upon the name of justice that the toilers must create the great counter-balancing power which can lay its iron hand upon industrial exploitation, upon the devices of plutocracy and upon the tyranny of all governments.

These patient millions have been forced to drink their bitter cup to the last drop, but the day is near when they may rise out of their misery and despair and take their stand as free men in the exercise of a real freedom which they are never again to lose so long as the world lasts.

To arrive at that high destiny there is only one safe and effective course and that is through a world brotherhood formed solely for the economic protection of the toilers. Every other question is subsidiary and all other expedients will fail.

It is no longer possible for the world's toilers to remain in the isolation created by nationalism and by the prejudices of so-called patriotism. The interest of the toilers is a common interest which does not differ in any essential particular in any part of the world. The unity of interest among nations arises from the international understanding of capital and from the development of communication, the specialization of industry and the facility and profit of world-trade, and the hostilities arise from the greed of plutocracy, the ambition of imperialists and the dominion exercised over alien peoples without their consent. Nations are linked to the destiny of one another and labour has a universal and

common interest. All toilers are citizens of a world-empire. It is the empire of toil, of human struggles, of eternal hopes and common rights. Their interests are not divisible and their power should not be divided.

In peace and in war the toiler is regarded everywhere the same. It is only the toiler himself who has not risen to a world-view of his position. He is under the fogs of nationalism while his employer and master is international and his government is controlled by a world-plutocracy and international considerations.

All governments make a similar appeal to the toilers in time of war. They are told that they must defend their country. They are in fact their country and these common men had no wish to fight one another. They are brothers and toilers. Last and least of all they should be nationals. As toilers they had everything to lose by war and as nationals they had no occasion or desire for war.

To be able to understand how it is possible for men to bear the horrors of war it is essential to know how great are their sacrifices through the whole course of their monotonous lives. The heroism, valor, endurance and self-effacement which have been the glory of the toilers in the trenches — are the expression, on a conspicuous scale, at the mouth of the cannon, of the qualities which dominate the obscure life of those who pass their days in silent, patient and hopeless drudgery. The scribblers who record the valor of these men at the front are astonished at the universal display of the great virtues which in times of peace are never recorded, because no one cares how great are their constant sacrifices in our modern industrial feudalism.

Through generations of such sacrifices the toiler has earned a higher place in the consideration of mankind. He is entitled to a larger share of what he creates. He should have more freedom from his ceaseless grind of hardship and drudgery. He has been too patient. He has left his interests in the hands of others and they have robbed him while he toiled. He has been asleep to his peril and has been murdered in his sleep.

The ones who survive this horror will be bought and sold by industrialism for so many pennies per hour. They will be put through the old mill of toil and at the end of their life of usefulness they will be discharged as worthless things and must depend upon the support of their children or the pretentious charity of the ones who robbed them of their toil.

The patient struggle of the world's toilers is the most heroic fact of every age and their helplessness is the great tragedy of the ages.

We behold with admiration their vast works, their enormous creative ability and the stupendous wealth which are the monuments to their constant and patient industry; while we must witness with inexpressable sorrow their helplessness in everything that concerns their daily welfare and in the policy of all institutions which dispose of their liberty and their life.

Everyone believes that there are better days in store for mankind. The toilers dream of a time when they may be more comfortable and more free. No one can believe that mankind has found a reasonable solution of the problems of life and government. It requires either dense ignorance or cynical impudence to attempt to justify existing institutions, social customs, governments, industrial slavery and all the monstrous machinery of oppression and exploitation which has been built up around the activities of mankind.

Some of the pretensions of the ruling caste in past generations were more outrageous than wage-slavery. These were abolished by violence, but the people only changed masters. The present evils must be abolished by the toilers through organization, without violence, in order that they may become and remain masters. If necessity knows no law, it is even more true that toil knows no nationality. The toiler cannot wait for the slow-moving ages to pass in which nationality will be generally replaced by larger sentiments of a world-citizenship, but he can attain without great delay in the present generation, his rightful place in the industrialism of all nations through the recognition of his international

character and by acting in accordance with the necessities of his world position.

The bogey of an invasion of America or Europe from the Far East which has been used by capitalism, as one justification for armament, must be forever dismissed by a world organization of toilers.

All the small issues as to whether the plutocracy of Austria, Italy, France, England or Germany shall wave its flags over more or less territory, are only raised to obscure the vital and hidden designs of the industrial masters of the world. These designs are that the old exploitation may continue, that the masses may be deceived by the press into the belief that the new treaties mean an end to war, that armament may be made, navies maintained, despotism still take its course over alien people, and the masses be kept in ignorance as to the actual reasons why they have been plundered and destroyed.

We have witnessed in the present struggle the divergence of views expressed by labour conventions. These arose chiefly because the conventions took the form of political meetings, rather than strictly economic conferences. The press has done the thinking for the masses, so far as there has been any thinking, and conventions of men seem to be unable to depart from the habit of constituting their gatherings as a miniature parliament in which, following the customs of parliaments, they discuss everything except their own affairs! When capitalists meet to form a trust they do not waste their time discussing the vague and unimportant political issues raised by small lawyers in some cabinet, but instead they lay aside all other questions and combine.

The toilers must follow this example. They must realize that no two men have the same productive value and no two men should receive the same pay. They must understand that the entire basis upon which men are paid must be altered. This can only be effected after the toilers have formed a world organization which must first of all establish the new principle of payment. That principle should be that no man's wages will be mea-

sured by his necessities, but instead upon the basis of what he can and does produce. No man should be paid upon any other basis. The establishment of this principle affects the toiler and his master because it would be a reversal of the present order between industrial capital and labour. The position now is that those who sow do not reap; whereas under the altered principle the harvest would go to the toiler and not to the watered stocks. After such a basis of payment has been secured — through organization — the division of the product among the toilers becomes a matter which concerns only themselves. They can and should distribute what they receive in proportion to what each man produces. There should be no restraint put upon the production of any men and no uniform wages. All attempts to establish uniform wages tend to fix the average wage on the basis of the minimum production of a given man and are calculated to keep compensation at a low level. It is precisely the same as a group of boys at school. If the whole class must wait for the most backward of its members, a great part of the time of all others is lost and they achieve the minimum result for their expenditure.

I believe it to be due to a wrong conception of the position of labour in industrialism that this principle has not been recognized by toilers, in so far as they have organized. Every man is worth something, but he should be paid upon the basis of his production. Nothing should be done to penalize the highly efficient or to debar the ones who are not efficient, but as one clearly has a greater value than the other, both should be paid according to what they are worth. This can result in practice only by payment upon the basis of production. Such payment is a just and equitable basis as between the employer and all employees, considered as a whole, and nothing can be said against it as a fair basis of a division of compensation among the members constituting the whole.

Let there be applied to industrialism the principles of a changeless Nature which renders to every man

according as he sows, which gives nothing to him who does not sow; where ten talents go to the ten talent man and one talent is not withheld from the one talent man. Upon this principle the world would belong to those who toil instead of being owned, as it now is, by the ones who do not toil.

This change can be realized without violence. It can never result from violence, because any great upheaval of Society would create a new ruling caste which would never be the mob. By peaceful world-organization the toilers may become the dignified masters of the world. By violence they will degenerate into an enslaved rabble. The fact that millions of men believe they can obtain justice only through the destruction of existing institutions by violence strongly emphasizes a dangerous aspect of the social unrest which deserves the gravest consideration of all who would promote the large interests of mankind. The terrible evils of our modern society are not primarily evils of administration. They are economic, not political defects. They arise not from any form of government, but rather from the use which industrialism is able to make of the lives and fortunes of men in peace and in war. It is the same in republics as in kingdoms because rulers will always be the instruments by which plutocracy seeks to attain its ends. This tendency cannot be controlled through any form of government. It must be checkmated by action independent of all governments.

So long as a few men representing the modern feudalism of plutocracy can so control nations as to form alliances and group humanity into various armed camps, surrounded by what we term boundaries, just so long will these combinations destroy mankind through war. There is no nationality for capitalism and there should be none for toil. National boundaries are a stupid and senseless relic of feudalism and class rivalry. They have been the occasion of all international wars and they have not the slightest importance for any toiler. Whether capitalism draws its imaginary lines along one or the other side of some lake, river or mountain

it is the same for the toilers. They are still homeless on both sides of all these lines and they should no longer be so blind as to destroy one another in order to double the income, the power and the arrogance of one or another group of plutocracy.

The earth should belong to the toilers. They have paid for it over and over again to men who never had any better title to it than the toilers themselves and yet these millions are homeless. And more than this; they are now used and destroyed in ways more shameful and barbarous than at any time in the long and gloomy history which records their pathetic struggles for the right merely to live and toil. It was sufficiently monstrous that capitalism should take the product of the life toil of every generation, without at the same time forcing its victims to kill one another and yet the present ghastly murder of the common man follows the most tremendous exploitation of that class ever recorded on the pages of time. Never were the outrages of capitalism against labour so vast and monumental as in this generation and never did the ambition and greed of the few take so terrible a toll of human life. The millions, whose toil was stolen by plutocracy, were forced to murder each other by that same plutocracy in violation of every interest of the toilers and contrary to every pretention of the boasted civilization which has deluded, robbed and finally destroyed the common man.

The objects which labouring men desire to attain can be realized only through peaceful means by organization. Too many toilers have already been murdered by plutocracy. Let them refrain from murdering themselves. The vast wealth they have so patiently created should be utilized for the benefit of the class which created it. Their noble institutions must be made the imperishable tokens of their long struggle toward freedom. The monuments built by the hands of toil must be held in trust for future generations as a heritage bequeathed to them by centuries of human aspiration, suffering and despair.

It will be difficult to raise any objection to the

course I have suggested, so far as it concerns the toilers. It will be generally conceded that a world organization of labour would be able to exercise final and arbitrary power, but it will be contended that such an organization can never be formed. The toiler is regarded by his masters as too short-sighted, ignorant and jealous, ever to take the great steps which will lead to economic liberty for himself and terminate the arrogance of this master. The press, which speaks for capitalism, will point to the dreary failures of the past efforts of toilers to unite and will urge them to use existing means of arbitration and parliamentary action to obtain their rights.

If the toilers are well advised they will realize that so long as they rely upon the old expedients and remain unorganized they will continue to be slaves. As they have the strength to move the wheels of the world they should acquire the power to stop those wheels.

Under the whip of necessity and the orders of their masters they move as automatic parts of the great mechanism of modern life. They are punctual to the stroke of the clock. They are always at their posts. It may be said that it is their necessity and the brains of their masters which make them the indispensable part of the great, and dependable industrial machine and that such an organization as I have urged the toilers to form, will never be formed because they will not or cannot act without these two elements; that so long as they have something to eat and are not led by a class to which they do not belong, they will do nothing to achieve world unity and power.

It is precisely upon this point that I would appeal to the self-interest, the pride and the dignity of the toilers. They are frankly inferior to their masters in the qualities which relate to the acquisition and use of power. They have toiled with their hands and their masters have toiled with their heads, but the difference in their position economically is far greater than the inequality of intelligence between them. The men who are capable of directing labour for a common employer

are intelligent enough to organize that labour for its own freedom. There is ample ability in the underpaid managers, superintendents and foremen of the industrial army to direct that army to effective and general union and they owe it to their comrades to do so. They must lay aside, nationality and all other questions which are used by capitalism to divide and submerge them and recognize that they have a general and common interest throughout the world and that they are, one and all, natural members of a universal brotherhood which can rise out of its slavery only through union of action for a common end.

If the immortal dreamers, philosophers, poets, musicians and artists, who have bequeathed to earth the whole of its intellectual and moral riches had carried away the products of toil we would not complain, but the contrary is true. They who create all the material wealth carry their grist to the mill of those who do not create any intellectual or moral wealth. The great benefactors of humanity (who are responsible for the whole of its material, intellectual and moral capital) are one and all poor. The material riches go to those who do not sow and the ones whose intellect and ethics have given to mankind its imperishable glory are not the ones who have received the product of toil.

Into the great treasure houses of civilization there are poured two steady streams of wealth. The procession of toilers passes through one portal and leaves its treasures behind. The splendid pageant of intellectual and moral genius enters another portal and lays its stern and beautiful tributes at the feet of a humanity which bids it go its way with empty hands. And so the great absorbing and noncreative caste sits in sullen and arrogant splendour in the mighty temples built by labour, by enthusiasm and by dreams. It brings nothing of value to its stations of exalted power and it goes its way to be replaced by others as useless as itself.

It is due precisely to the fact that a power exists which can dominate the whole of the great elements upon which rest the material and moral splendour of

man, that the only ones who have any interest in the preservation of these indispensable classes have no force sufficient to make their will supreme. If these two great factors to which all progress is due, could unite in a world brotherhood they would create a new world. If the millions who toil and the few who dream, would unite, there would be an end of plutocracy, of international murder and national exploitation, misery and want. It is because the masses toil and the dreamers dream, while plutocracy neither toils nor dreams — but organizes — that plutocracy has supreme power and the toilers and dreamers are powerless.

These pages are an appeal to the toilers and dreamers in every land to make common cause for the salvation of their common humanity and for the creation of a new world.

I make an appeal to their honour and to the divinity which is in all men, to the debt they owe to their children and to the generations who will otherwise inherit their pathetic and miserable existence: that they rise as one man and by peaceful means, put an end to the world-tyranny of a false and mendacious capitalism.

Let them surprise the world by their intelligence and power of union, to the same vast extent that they have enriched, honoured and blessed the world by their patience, their genius, their suffering and their toil.

*Steinhof Castle,
Lucerne.*

JOHN DE KAY.

The other chapters of "[The World Allies]"
were as follows:

- Chapter I. Conquest of nature and of man.
- Chapter II. Liberty, Equality, Fraternity.
- Chapter III. Nationalism and language.
- Chapter IV. Religion and man's moral position.
- Chapter V. Bank, stock exchanges and wealth.
- Chapter VI. Trusts, labour and human nature.
- Chapter VII. The toilers, the press and world-power.
- Chapter VIII. Imperial men and women.
- Chapter IX. Economic rivalry in Europe.
- Chapter X. The rise of the German people.
- Chapter XI. Labour, industrialism and the responsibility for
the present war.
- Chapter XII. Liberty and despotism.
- Chapter XIII. The toilers and representative governments.
- Chapter XIV. The toilers and the terms of peace.
- Chapter XV. Cabinets, wars and the masses.
- Chapter XVI. Plutocracy, labour and subsidized institutions.
- Chapter XVII. An appeal to the dreamers and toilers.



BY THE SAME AUTHOR

Longings.	1907
The Weaver.	1908
Judas (a drama)	1910
Thoughts	1911
Brown Leaves	1911
The People's Money	1912
Dictators of Mexico.	1914
Love and other Songs	1916
Immortality	1916
Women and the new Social State*	1918



* Now in the press.

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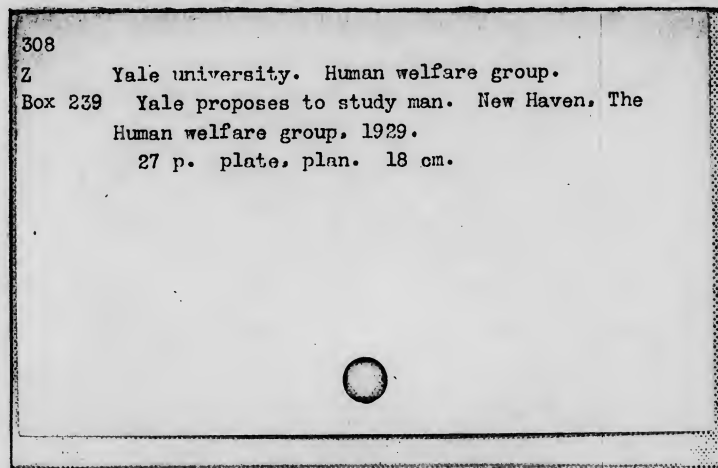
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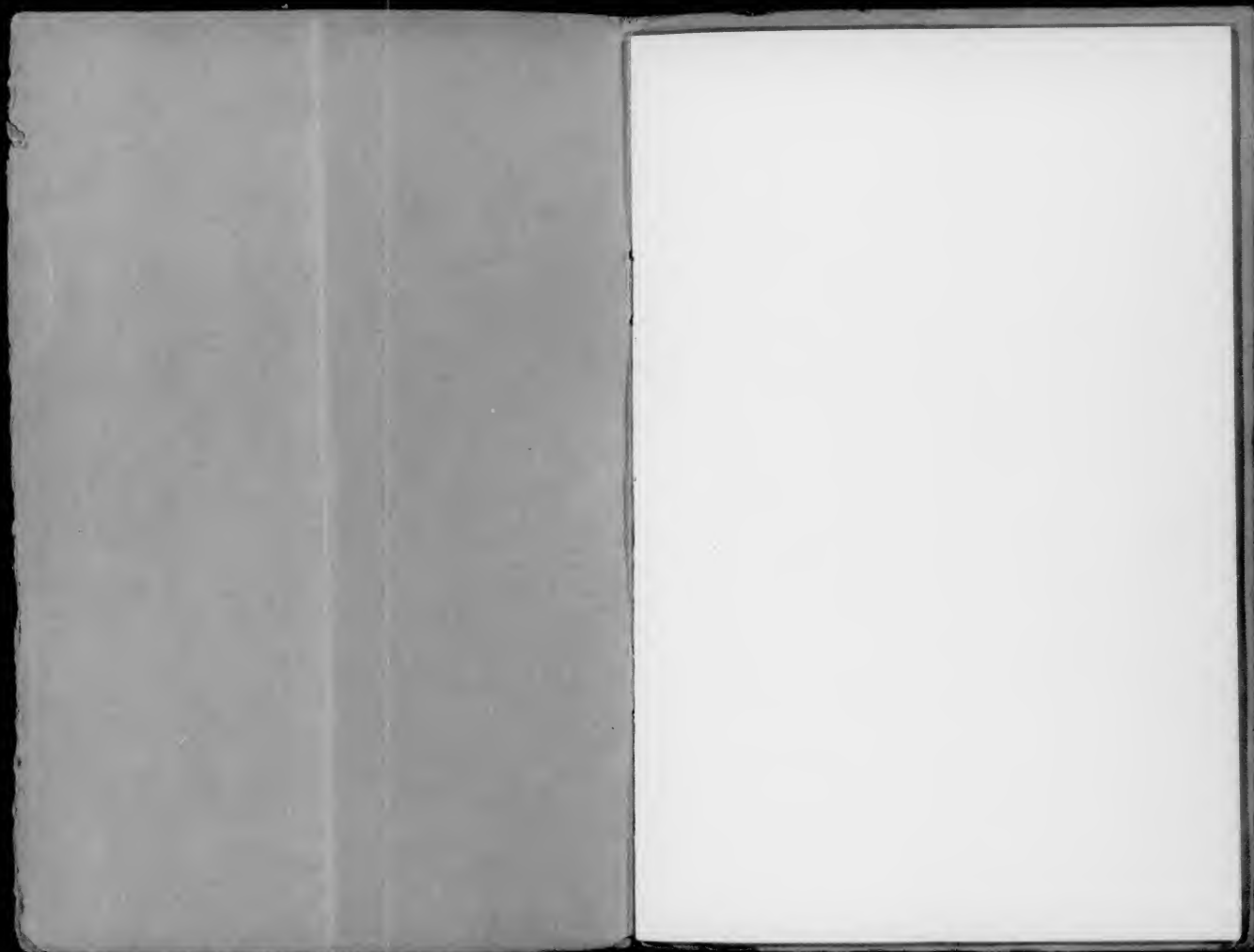
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YALE
PROPOSES TO
STUDY MAN

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Box 239





INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS

In this view from Davenport Avenue and Oak Street the section to be devoted to child development work is seen in the foreground. The tower, constituting the architectural center of the Human Welfare Group, contains four stories of book stacks, and at the top, the reading room.

YALE PROPOSES TO STUDY MAN



THE HUMAN WELFARE GROUP

NEW HAVEN

1929

Gift
Prof Seligman
10-3-29

Dec 2, 1929 DA/NE

Yale Proposes to Study Man



I.

THE MAJOR PROBLEMS OF LIFE ARE UNSOLVED

ALTHOUGH progress in the physical sciences during the past fifty years has been extraordinary, and man's material prosperity today is unparalleled in history, the major problems of human life seem little nearer solution than they were two thousand years ago. Mental disease, for instance, is increasingly common. There is an upward trend of the suicide and homicide rates. Crime is more general than ever before. Poverty and unemployment are still accepted as necessary evils. Failure is evident throughout the gamut of human interrelationships: in the smallest unit, the family, divorce is spreading; in the largest, the struggles between nations witnessed in recent decades make the wars of the past seem insignificant by comparison.

Sane men do not look for panaceas. The days of the magician and the "medicine man" are over. A certain measure of success, however,

The Human Welfare Group

has been granted those who can discover facts and make rational use of them. When yellow fever plagued the world a remedy was sought, not for all disease, but for yellow fever. Discovery was made of the insect that carries the germ and infects man with it, and the carrier has been as far as possible exterminated. Knowledge of yellow fever is limited, for the mechanism of infection and immunity has never been fully explained, but the application of such facts about the disease as were ascertained has been sufficient almost to wipe yellow fever from the western world.

But even though all infectious and organic diseases are ultimately controlled, and this does not at present seem likely, only one aspect of human life will have been affected. Sir William Arbuthnot Lane recently expressed the opinion that there may come a day when everybody will live to the age of one hundred. "But," he added, "I don't say they will enjoy it." It is clear that the greatest medical schools and medical centers we can build will not hold the secret of human happiness. By the same token, progress in any other one direction, such as psychology, sociology, or economics, has only limited possibilities. The fact is that man is not a purely physical, a purely

Yale Proposes to Study Man

psychical, or a purely social being. He is a compound of all these, and it is logical to assume that a further understanding of individual and social behavior entails recognition of this fact.

II.

YALE MAKES A NEW APPROACH

YALE has been working for a number of years toward a correlation of various university and community interests concerned with problems of human conduct. The desire has been to make man himself, in all his relationships, the center of interest. Each of the coöperating members must contribute in its own way, but with the ultimate objective a fuller knowledge and understanding of man.

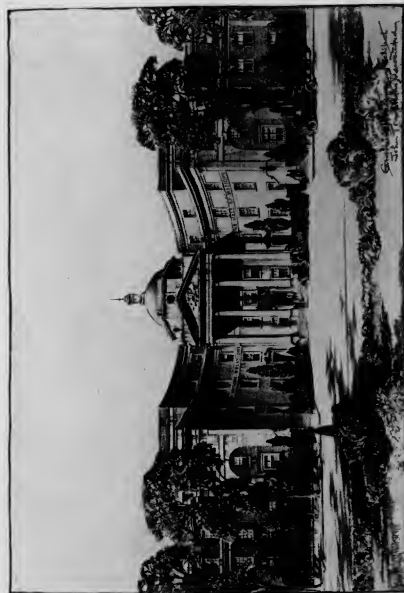
It is understandable that during the era when a great expansion of knowledge was taking place in sociology and biology, in law and medicine, each branch should lose sight of the other and to a certain extent of the common purpose. The time has clearly come now, however, for breaking down the artificial barriers between these closely related fields. Biology and sociology are not ends in themselves, but simply means of making life richer and better. The funda-

The Human Welfare Group

mental and applied branches of science are different avenues of approach to the common goal—a better conception and more intelligent management of the physical, mental, and social behavior of human beings.

An Association of Existing Activities

OUT of the experiments at Yale has grown the Human Welfare Group, a voluntary association of already existing units concerned with fundamental and applied aspects of biology and sociology. Among the units thus far included are the Yale School of Medicine, the Yale School of Nursing, the New Haven Hospital and Dispensary, and the Institute of Human Relations. In the Institute of Human Relations, designed for coöperative research, are the child development study unit, the comparative psycho-biology unit, the graduate divisions of psychology and the social sciences, and a research and clinical group in mental hygiene and psychiatry. Affiliated through the Institute are such divisions as the Graduate School, the Law School, the Divinity School, certain of the engineering groups, and the university departments of instruction in the fundamentals of biology and sociology.



INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RELATIONS AND
STERLING HALL OF MEDICINE

Study showing how the Institute building, on the left, will be joined to the Sterling Hall of Medicine, on the right.

The Human Welfare Group

Thus, while such a concerted attack upon the problems of human behavior is a departure from deeply intrenched traditions in higher education, no new and untried forms of activity have been started, no new theories have been promulgated. Each of the units, materially strengthened, will carry on its customary work, with enlarged facilities and greater opportunities for coöperative activity. The step is significant as an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary one. It is a move toward a synthesis of human knowledge necessary if man is to benefit from scientific progress. In the words of Dr. William H. Welch, of Johns Hopkins University, the Human Welfare Group represents the most important forward step in higher education taken in the present century.

III.

HOW THE GROUP WILL FUNCTION

BROADLY speaking, the Human Welfare Group will be devoted to research in biology and the social sciences; to the teaching of graduate students in the "pure" sciences and in such applied fields as law, medicine, and nursing; and to practical service in the community

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through hospital care, and medical, psychiatric, psychological, and child guidance clinics.

The Human Welfare Group may be likened to a house. The foundation consists of university sections interested in the fundamental studies of sociology and biology. Resting on this foundation, and constituting the main floor of the structure, are the applied branches, such as law and medicine, with affiliated hospitals and clinics. On this level the contacts with the community are made. Over 6,000 patients come to the New Haven Hospital every year, and more than 50,000 visits are made to its Dispensary. This health service, which is already a part of the procedure, will open the door for psychological, sociological, and economic studies of the same group to be conducted by experts, and observed by students of law, medicine, and sociology. Since these varied investigations will concern the same individuals and families, and will be conducted under the same general supervision, they should result in more complete information than has heretofore been available regarding the many factors influencing human conduct.

Facts to be Correlated in Institute

THIS information is taken to the upper floor

The Human Welfare Group

of the imaginary house. Here, with a broader perspective, sociologists, psychologists, psychiatrists, economists, and biologists, on the staff of the Institute of Human Relations, apply themselves to the task of determining the relative significance of the assembled facts.

Each staff member holds an appointment in a university department, so that his findings may be reflected ultimately in the teachings of that department. Although each university division associated with the Human Welfare Group will be free as always to originate and conduct its own field investigations, the Institute staff will be ready to serve in an advisory capacity in order that uniform methods may be employed and the maximum value of each project realized.

Among existing divisions included in the Institute of Human Relations are the child study unit under Dr. Gesell, engaged in tracing human conduct to earliest infancy; the comparative psycho-biology unit under Dr. Yerkes, devoted to a study of simpler animal forms than man; the graduate divisions of psychology and the social sciences; and the department of psychiatry and mental hygiene.

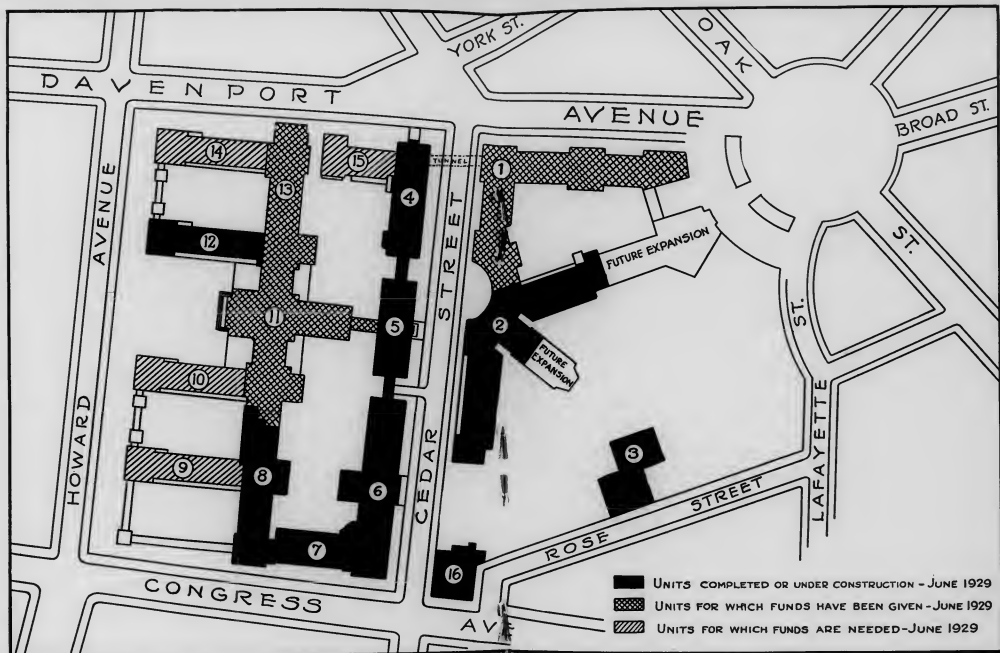
From such a coördination of activities in the Human Welfare Group it may be expected that

Yale Proposes to Study Man

light will be thrown upon questions such as the connection between physical health and family income, mental stability and occupation, crime and recreational facilities, child training and mental growth, economic conditions and divorce, and legal procedure and respect for the law. It may be possible in many instances to bring about a readjustment between the individual and his environment which will lead to greater happiness.

Juvenile Delinquents Being Studied

A SPECIFIC study which has already been initiated is that of family factors in child adjustment. Under the direction of Dr. William Healy and Dr. Augusta Bronner of Boston, national authorities on child delinquency, intensive studies of families in contact with the juvenile courts will be made simultaneously in New Haven and in Boston. Each member of the family will be given a physical and psychological examination. He will be studied also from the point of view of occupation, education, and recreational interests. Eventually there will be worked out a complete picture of the family from which has come the child who falls afoul of the law. When such studies are completed, covering families in two



PROPOSED DEVELOPMENT OF THE HUMAN WELFARE GROUP

- | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------|
| 1. Institute of Human Relations | 6. Anthony N. Brady Memorial Laboratory | 12. Raleigh Fickin Memorial |
| 2. Sterling Hall of Medicine | 7. Lauder Hall | 13. Medical and Pediatrics Laboratory |
| 3. Power Plant | 8. Farnam Memorial Building | 14. Isolation Pavilion |
| 4. Private Pavilion | 9. Women's Pavilion | 15. Extension of Private Patient Pavilion |
| 5. Boardman Administration Building | 10. Surgical Pavilion | 16. New Haven Dispensary |
| | 11. Clinic and Service Building | |

The Human Welfare Group

widely separated cities, there will be available facts which should be of aid in the prevention of juvenile delinquency and there can be no question of the social desirability of supplanting punishment with preventive measures which strike at the very roots of the evil.

Outlook of Students and Faculty Will Be Broadened

IN all of the studies conducted faculty members and graduate students of the several affiliated schools and departments will serve as investigators and observers, always under the direction of specialists skilled in field work. Each of these assistants will have a particular interest in legal, economic, sociological, psychological, or physical aspects of the survey, but he will also be made aware of the fact that problems of human conduct are complex, depending upon many factors, all of which should be taken into consideration in any given situation. A greater understanding of life as it actually is should result from participation in the investigative work of the Human Welfare Group by those who are to be the lawyers, teachers, and doctors of the future.

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How the educational scheme in some of the schools may be adapted to the broad purposes of the Human Welfare Group can be illustrated by a plan under consideration in the School of Medicine. It is proposed here to require students during the first two years to take a general course in sociology and psychology, which might well be given in association with the Institute of Human Relations, so that it would be available for students in any of the graduate or professional divisions of the University. The medical student would thus be kept in touch with the problems of life as a whole during the period when his study of biology is carried on exclusively in the laboratory. The background which a practical course in sociology should give him will certainly enable the student to deal much more satisfactorily with human beings when, at the beginning of his third year in medicine, he comes into contact with patients for the first time.

Sociology Introduced into Medicine

THE proposed plan involves further the establishment of a department of clinical sociology in the School of Medicine with a status comparable to that of the departments of internal medicine, surgery, diseases of women, diseases of

The Human Welfare Group

children, and psychiatry. It would be the responsibility of this department to make a study of the family and community relations of every patient in the Hospital and Dispensary, just as other departments make the physical and mental investigations. All students would take their turn in the work of the clinical sociology department just as in the other sections. Through the seminars, in which representatives of all departments would participate, there would be brought before the student a complete picture of the patient rather than the partial view pertaining exclusively to the physical condition which has so long characterized medical training. It is possible that through such a plan the human outlook characteristic of the old family doctor may be given to physicians of the future, making it a more general practice to look upon the patient as a living being rather than as a case of bad lungs or a bad heart.

The work done by the department of clinical sociology will have a value in addition to its influence upon the training of future physicians, for the data will be turned over to the Institute of Human Relations, there to be correlated with information obtained through the studies conducted by other departments.

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Care of Patient First Concern

IN addition to training graduate and professional students and conducting research, the Human Welfare Group will provide a practical service for those in need of help because of physical, mental, or social problems. In the case of physical illness the agency will naturally be the New Haven Hospital and Dispensary. We may take a specific example. A man comes to the Dispensary suffering from tuberculosis. He is given medical treatment as expert as can be had anywhere in the country. In this treatment he is benefited by the latest developments in chemical and operative therapy, as worked out by the departments of chemistry, physiological chemistry, surgery, and medicine. But this comprehensive physical treatment may not be enough. The mental attitude of the patient may preclude his proper recovery. Therefore the psychiatrist may be needed.

The members of his family have been exposed to the disease, and his children should be brought to the clinic for those who have been in contact with tuberculosis. These visits may reveal certain behavior problems which can best be met by the child guidance clinic in the Institute. His family

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may lack the material necessities of life, in which event a social case worker representing local relief agencies is needed to determine to what extent aid is advisable. Further study of the situation may show living, working, or recreational conditions not conducive to the maintenance of health.

These are only indications of problems touching one patient which are of interest to lawyers, sociologists, and economists, as well as to psychologists, psychiatrists, and physicians. First of all the individual's welfare must be considered, but in furthering it facts can be brought to light which should be of great value, when many people have been studied individually and in relation to each other, in dealing with the physical and mental maladjustments to which man is commonly subject.

IV.

FINANCIAL STATUS OF THE GROUP

FOR the consummation of the Human Welfare Group plans it is necessary that funds should be provided for adequate, centralized housing, and for endowment of the Group activities. Neither teaching nor research can be

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well conducted in poorly arranged and poorly equipped buildings, where waste of time and effort is unavoidable. Modern hospital facilities, well endowed, are important from the point of view of the patient, and what is best for the patient is always best from the standpoint of teaching and research.

Much progress has already been made toward meeting the material requirements of the Human Welfare Group. A gift of \$1,500,000 has been made for the Institute of Human Relations building. Annual grants representing a capital of \$6,000,000 have also been made to the Institute for research in psychiatry, psychology, and the social sciences. However, there must be obtained over \$6,000,000 more for activities upon which the effectiveness of the Institute and the Human Welfare Group as a whole depends.

Needs of the Medical School

THE Yale School of Medicine, through its progressive measures, has attained a high place among medical schools in this country. Enrollment has been limited to two hundred students, thereby permitting the maximum individual attention to each. The full-time teaching system has been introduced into clinical medicine,

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which means that hospital staff members now give their entire time to the care of patients in the hospital, to teaching and research, with none of the distractions that private practice entails. The curriculum has been made more elastic, so that a student may select work for which he is particularly adapted. Examinations are given at the beginning rather than at the end of a course, to determine if the student can profit from the particular work he wishes to take. Marking systems, formal quizzes, attendance records, and didactic lectures have been largely abandoned. At the end of his pre-clinical studies the student is given a general examination to determine if he is fitted to go on into clinical medicine. And at the end of his medical school career he is examined again to determine his fitness to practice medicine.

The needs of the Yale School of Medicine from the point of view of medical education as it is ordinarily thought of have been fairly well met. For the conduct of additional activities which are its obligation as an integral part of the Human Welfare Group additional funds are essential. For the proposed work in clinical sociology, for further research in medical education, for a project designed to stimulate a positive inter-

Yale Proposes to Study Man

est in the maintenance of health, all of which are of vital importance to the progress of the Human Welfare Group as a whole, added endowment of \$1,650,000 is required by the Yale School of Medicine.

Hospital Needs \$4,200,000

THE New Haven Hospital and Dispensary plays a dual role. It provides an extensive service as the outstanding hospital of the city and state, and in a manner which in no way conflicts with this purpose it serves also as a laboratory for the Human Welfare Group. By giving to all of its many patients the highest type of medical care it provides a basis of approach for studies from other than the medical viewpoint. In order to play its part as a unit in the Human Welfare Group the Hospital must have modern buildings and endowment for the maintenance of patients unable to meet the full cost of hospital care. It is clear that the best interests of research are sometimes served by having certain patients at hand from the beginning of a disease through the convalescent period in order that the malady may be observed in all its stages. Most patients, of course, are compelled by economic necessity to leave the hospital as soon as they are physi-

The Human Welfare Group

cally able unless there is a fund to meet that part of the cost which they are unable to pay. For this purpose added endowment of \$2,000,000 is needed.

Reconstruction of the Hospital group is already well under way, but there are still four sections for which funds are needed. These are the Women's Pavilion, the Surgical Pavilion, the Isolation Pavilion, and the addition to the Private Patient Pavilion. The aggregate cost of these four wings is \$2,200,000. The total Hospital needs are thus \$4,200,000.

School of Nursing Needs \$1,000,000

THE Yale School of Nursing requires an additional endowment of \$1,000,000 for carrying on its program of nursing education. The school is conducted with the object of giving well-educated women a professional training which will enable them to appreciate the mental and social factors, as well as the physical, in the welfare of the patient. The technique of bedside care, upon which such stress has been placed heretofore in the training of nurses, is held to be not an end in itself but merely a step in the intelligent care of patients. The Yale School of Nursing is endeavoring through research and investigation to



THE HUMAN WELFARE GROUP FROM HOWARD AVENUE

This view shows the Hospital pavilions in the foreground, connected by laboratory units. The Clinic and Service Building is in the center.

The Human Welfare Group

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The Human Welfare Group

determine exactly what the educational content for the various branches of nursing should be. This contribution toward setting standards so urgently needed has already been recognized in a gift of \$1,000,000 from the Rockefeller Foundation. An additional endowment of \$1,000,000 will enable the school to carry out the program which has been outlined with the objectives of the Human Welfare Group in mind.

Summary of Financial Needs of the Human Welfare Group

Women's Pavilion	\$ 500,000
Surgical Pavilion	600,000
Isolation Pavilion	450,000
Private Patient Pavilion	
Addition	650,000
Hospital Endowment	2,000,000
School of Nursing Endowment	1,000,000
Clinical Sociology Endowment	1,000,000
Positive Health Endowment	500,000
Medical Education Research	
Endowment	150,000

The material assets of the Human Welfare Group already approximate \$30,000,000. The full use of the facilities which this sum represents

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can be realized only when the plans for the Group are completed by the addition of the buildings and endowments now lacking. The futility of desultory studies of the "end" results of human behavior—disease, poverty, crime—has long been recognized. The consummation of the Human Welfare Group plans will make it possible for scientists in many fields to pool their resources in a unique and well-considered effort to ascertain the causes of many human ills and to affect the training of physicians, lawyers, teachers, nurses, sociologists, and psychologists in such a way that life may become better for all.

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(大正十五年十二月十五日)

Economic Theory and Economic Policy

Dr. A. Amonn.

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March. 15. 1930 DA

Economic Theory and Economic Policy.

By Prof. Dr. A. Amonn.

Science originates from t w o sources: From the needs and requirements of daily practical life and from an innate desire for knowledge. To all of us the question "Why?" is familiar from early childhood. We are not sufficiently satisfied with p e r c e i v i n g facts and events around us, we wish to understand more intimately what we see, we want to know the inner or intrinsic connexion of things, we desire to c o m p r e h e n d what exists and what happens. We do not take the coexistence and sequence of the facts daily in evidence as simply given, but we want to know w h y this coexistence and sequence exist, that is to say, we want to know the g e n e r a l l a w which governs them.

Yet actual science does not arise from this mere desire for knowledge. Life does not leave us much time for indulging in this idle curiosity. It demands of us in the first place a c t i o n , practical a c t i v i t y , e x p e d i e n t c o n d u c t with regard to our needs and given external circumstances. But this again impels us to investigate the

conditions and connexions of facts and events around us. Another question arises, a practical question, the question: What is expedient conduct? Or: How have we to act, how have we to behave with regard to our needs and the given external circumstances in order to attain our object? But this question presently changes into another one, i.e.: How do things act or behave with regard to each other and with regard to our needs and requirements? And this again is a theoretical question, a question of knowledge. We cannot answer that practical question of expedient conduct or behaviour on our part, if we have not beforehand answered this theoretical question concerning the behaviour and action on the part of the things around us. The attainment of our object presupposes theoretical knowledge, knowledge of facts, of cause and effect. Thus this necessity of knowledge for the attainment of our practical purposes becomes the main actual impulse to scientific investigation.

At bottom all sciences have arisen from practical desires and purposes, not only the natural sciences but also the social sciences as well, according to this we see that every science has two parts, a theoretical one—as “pure science” —and a practical one—as

“applied science.” The theoretical one—or pure science—shows us in a systematic manner the causal connexions and relations of facts as they actually are, the practical part or applied part of a discipline shows us, how we may avail ourselves of this knowledge for practical purposes, how this knowledge is applicable to our objects, that is to say, how we can accomplish certain facts, which we consider as a desired end, or, what facts we have to effect and how we have to effect them as causes, in order to bring about other facts as the effects which we consider our object.

Thus also Political Economy or Economics has primarily arisen from practical needs and purposes and it also has two parts: a pure theoretical and an applied one. The theoretical part of Political Economy which we call Economic Theory shows us the causal connexions and relations of economic facts, the general rules or laws of coexistence and sequence of economic facts. The applied part of Political Economy or, “Applied Economics” shows us, how the doctrines of the theory may be applied to our actions, how we may avail ourselves of these doctrines in our actions and conduct with regard to our economic purposes or ends. But, of course, Political Economy only deals with the

political, that is to say, the social conditions and relations, which are bound up with our economic activity and behaviour and their doctrines therefore only bear upon our political or social endeavours regarding our economic purposes and ends. These political or social endeavours, the political or social activities regarding our economic purposes and ends are called Economic Policy. This is the general relation between Economic Theory and Economic Policy. But what is the inner connexion between them? Does Economic Theory directly and completely show us the "right" Economic Policy? Does it show us a definite system of political measures regarding our Economy? The general opinion is that it does, but if we inquire deeper into this question we shall see that it does not, it will show us that the inner connexion between Economic Theory and Economic Policy is a much more intricate one than it seems at first sight. Let us first survey the relation between Economic Theory and Economic Policy in their historical development.

Political Economy arose at the transition from mediæval to modern times from the needs of the sovereigns or rulers after the break up of the feudal system to provide a

sufficient revenue to meet their administrative and military requirements. This revenue could henceforth only be obtained by taxation, that is to say, it could only be derived from the revenue of the people. The revenue of the sovereign or ruler therefore obviously depended on the revenue of the people. To increase the revenue of the sovereign therefore presupposed the increasing of the revenue of the people.

How to increase the revenue of the people and the sovereign, how to enrich them, how to make the people and the sovereign wealthy or how to increase the wealth of the nation? This was the vital practical question which had to be solved. And this was at the same time the question which gave rise to that special branch of knowledge which we call Political Economy.

For this question could not be answered before first answering the question what does the wealth of nations consist in and what does it depend on? Or in other words: What is the nature of the wealth of a nation and what are the principal causes of it? This is a pure theoretical question put in terms of cause and effect. But the answer to the practical question as to the

expedient political means for increasing the wealth of the nation presupposes an answer to that theoretical question as to the nature and causes of that wealth.

The answer which was given at that time to this question was a mere empirical one. The men who primarily raised this question were no scientists but statesmen, who had to deal practically with the question of ways and means for providing the revenue necessary to meet the expenditure of the administrative and military requisites of their sovereign. Thus they put in terms of science just what they had directly observed from experience. And what they observed in their experience was this, that those nations grew richer which were carrying on an extended trade with foreign countries, (especially with America newly discovered at that time), like Spain, and from this experience they argued that carrying on an extended foreign trade is the general cause of increasing wealth in a country. Wealth itself seemed to them—again drawn from daily experience—to consist in gold or money. Thus the statement about this relation between wealth and foreign trade seemed to be proved by the ostensible fact that extended foreign trade brought gold to the country. This again could only be explained by the supposition that trade with

foreign countries was carried on with a favourable balance.

Foreign trade, an influx of gold and silver to countries trading with foreign countries and the general appreciation of those precious metals as wealth, these were the facts from which the first thinkers and writers about economic questions have drawn their conclusions. These conclusions of course could, considering the narrow range of the experience of those thinkers and writers, not be of a conclusive character.

But they sufficed as a theoretical basis on which to build a system of practical political measures to serve the economic end they had in view, a system of Economic Policy, and despite the erroneousness of that theoretical basis this system of Economic Policy proved quite suitable for that time. Yet it did so only for a certain period. As development increased and circumstances changed this whole system of Economic Policy proved untenable. And according to the supposed connexion between Economic Theory and Economic Policy the theoretical opinions of those writers also were regarded as untenable.

Then two other theories about the nature and causes of wealth gained ground suc-

cessively, the theory of the French Physiocrats and that of the English philosopher and economist Adam Smith.

The most important shortcoming of the mercantilist economic policy in France was that it neglected agriculture. The mercantilist Economic Policy in the end did not prove suitable for the whole nation but only for a limited portion of the people, namely for those engaged in commerce and trade. But the people for the most part at that time were engaged in agriculture, and they did not gain but lost by the mercantilist economic policy. They suffered from the low prices of agricultural products and could not improve their economy. Thus to the Physiocrats the mercantilist conception of wealth appeared onesided and too narrow, and another conception of wealth was formed by them, wealth consisting in the amount of the produce of land. And consequently they saw the cause of wealth in labour employed in agriculture. To Adam Smith this conception of wealth also seemed onesided and too narrow and he formed yet another one, wealth consisting in every kind of commodities serving human wants, and he consequently saw

the cause of wealth in every kind of labor employed in producing and distributing such commodities whether engaged in agriculture, industry or commerce.

The economic policy which was built upon these theoretical conceptions by the Physiocrats and by Adam Smith was quite the same. Its principle was Economic freedom.

But they arrived at it from quite different points of view. To the Physiocrats raising the prices of agricultural products and lowering the prices of the means of agricultural production by freeing foreign trade from the mercantilist restraints seemed to be the best expedient for attaining their object. Adam Smith regarded the same measure as suitable for promoting division of labor in which he saw the main cause of improving production and increasing wealth.

We cannot say that this system of economic policy proved altogether satisfying. On the other hand we can not also say that the theory of Adam Smith regarding the nature

and causes of wealth proved erroneous. This theory has prevailed up to the present, whereas the system of economic policy built upon it has been abandoned in most European countries and, as regards foreign trade, also in America a long time ago. We may say that to-day in most countries the mercantilist system of economic policy is again prevalent and regarded as more satisfactory than the liberal system of economic policy of Adam Smith and the Physiocrats.

This presents to us the curious fact that a system of economic policy built up upon an obviously erroneous economic theory like the mercantilist system proves more suitable than a system of economic policy built upon a true economic theory like the system of Adam Smith and at the same time this shows us the intricate character of the relation between Economic Theory and Economic Policy.

How was it that the system of economic policy built upon the obviously erroneous theory of the mercantilists could prove suitable? and how is it that it is often regarded as still suitable even today?

The system of economic policy built up by the mercantilists upon their erroneous

theoretical views proved suitable for a long time because, although these writers did not comprehend the essence of the nature and causes of wealth, they nevertheless grasped the factors at that time most important to the development of wealth. Gold and money is not wealth, it is not the essence or substance of wealth, but a mere form of wealth. Wealth does not consist in the possession of precious metals, gold or money, the possession of gold and money is not even essential to wealth, the possession of gold and money is generally but a small and unimportant part of the wealth of man or people, being rather a sign of wealth. Men or nations are not wealthy because they possess gold, but they possess gold because they are wealthy and can afford to possess gold. But at the time of those writers gold and money constituted in fact a very important item of the wealth of a nation and single individuals, and the possession of gold and money constituted a very important factor to wealth, in so far as gold and money was the chief form of capital in those days and that form of wealth which could be increased, over against the other chief form of

wealth viz. land, which could not be increased in a country.

Thus it is likewise true that an excess balance of foreign trade does not constitute the essential cause of an influx of gold and would therefore not constitute the essential cause of increasing wealth, even if it were true that wealth consisted in the possession of gold. Whether there is an influx to or an outflow of gold from a country does not depend on the balance of trade, but depends on the balance of the total payments between one country and the other countries, and the balance of trade constitutes, but one item of the balance of payments. However at the time of the mercantilists the balance of foreign trade in fact was the most important item of the balance of payments, as it is still nowadays in poor and economically less developed countries. The other items of the balance of payments were of no account in those days, and they are of no account still in our days in economically less advanced countries. Besides, the balance of foreign trade is that item of the balance of payments which is the most easily influenced of all by political measures.

Thus we may say, the old mercantilists were quite right in their views regarding the

actual requirements for increasing wealth at that time and under the then prevailing circumstances. They understood quite well what was important for the economic development at that time and under the then prevailing circumstances, but they were wrong in so far as they considered as general and essential what was true and important only for a certain period and a certain stage of economic development. They recognized quite correctly the important factors for increasing wealth at that time and state of economic development, but they were wrong in generalising their observations as being valid for all times and all stages of economic development.

On the other hand Adam Smith in fact comprehended the very nature of the wealth of a nation and its general causes, but we do not recognize the system of economic policy which he built upon his theoretical doctrines as being suitable even for his own time. That was chiefly because he, although comprehending the essential factors for increasing wealth, did not even take into account some factors which, although not essential, still were important for the practical purposes regarding wealth which we have in view. And moreover he did not define clearly the end we have in

view and which we are seeking to attain by our economic policy.

This all shows us that Economic Theory and Economic Policy are not connected with each other in such a way, as to allow us to derive from a certain Economic Theory a definite system of Economic Policy. It is erroneous to think that a definite economic theory implies a definite system of economic policy. Economic theory and Economic Policy are not connected with each other in a purely logical way, so as to derive by simply logical means, by logical arguments and conclusions definite political measures regarding wealth. For Economic Policy depends on a series of things and conditions about which Economic Theory says nothing.

There is first of all the end we have in view that determines economic policy. This is something which lies wholly beyond scientific consideration, at least as regards economic science. Economic theory says nothing about ends, aims or purposes. Theory only ascertains facts and the connexion of facts. Theory investigates how facts are constituted and how they are connected with each other. Theory states the cause and

effect of certain facts, it tells us what arises from certain causes or a certain complex of causes, and vice-versa by what causes certain effects are conditioned, on what causes a certain fact depends, or as applied to practical questions, what facts are to be brought about in order to attain certain effects which we desire. But it says nothing concerning the effects which ought to be our aim. Or in other, practical terms, theory says what means or measures are to be applied in order to attain a certain end, but it says nothing about the end itself, nothing about whether anything is to be regarded as an end or not. To establish certain aims or objects in life is not a matter of knowledge, not a matter of science, but a matter of will and activity.

Well now, a definite economic policy presupposes a certain economic end, and economic theory says nothing about the economic end which is presupposed by economic policy. But it may seem at first sight that there is only one definite end which may be presupposed in economic policy: wealth, or the greatest possible wealth for a country or a nation. Yet setting aside for the moment that this is not a perfectly clear and well defined conception, it is not correct to say that wealth or the greatest

possible wealth for a country or a nation is the only one conceivable economic end for economic policy. There is however a different economic end conceivable and possible than that of the greatest possible wealth. The greatest possible economic independency and selfsufficiency of a nation may also be regarded as the end which economic policy should have in view. And with this end in view a quite different system of economic policy may be built upon the basis of even the same economic theory.

Thus we understand quite well that although the economic theory of Adam Smith is still considered to be valid the system of economic policy which he has built upon his theory has, at least to a considerable extent, been discarded. The economic end implied in the system of economic policy of Adam Smith is obviously wealth or the greatest possible wealth for a country. Especially the free trade doctrine of the classical school was based on the implied supposition that the greatest possible wealth is the real end in view. From this supposition and on the ground of Adam Smith's theory that increase of wealth chiefly depends on the extension of division of labor there

resulted of necessity a system of economic policy which encourages division of labor also beyond the limits of a country or which promotes international division of labor and free trade appeared to be a suitable means to that end. It may be. But the question is: Do people or the statesmen acting on their behalf have this end in view. Obviously in most cases they do not. They have a different end in view. We see as a matter of fact that most nations are not striving for the greatest possible wealth, but for the greatest possible independency and selfsufficiency of their respective countries. Yet international division of labor means dependency. Therefore nowadays international division of labor is not encouraged by free trade, but every country is seeking to establish every kind of industry within its own boundaries and considers as a suitable means to that object a policy of restriction and protection by high customs. We often hear that such a policy is wrong. But they who say so have a different end in view. We can only say that certain means or measures are wrong when we have a certain end in view, but we cannot say that the end itself is wrong, unless we do not consider it as an end, but only as a means

to some other end. There must always be a definite end presupposed, in order to be able to judge a certain means or measure as being wrong or right. Thus we must say, the present policy of restriction and protection, which most nations pursue with regard to foreign trade is quite right, on the ground of the supposition that the greatest possible economic independency and selfsufficiency of the country is the real end in view, but at the same time, this policy is wrong, with regard to the greatest possible wealth as being the economic end in view. When therefore two persons express their opposite opinions about the expediency of a certain measure in practical economic questions, they are each of them often right, with regard to their own respective economic ends in view, but at the same time they are both wrong, with regard to the specific end which the other one of them has in view. In both cases they may ground their opinions on the basis of the same economic theory.

Thus we see clearly: There is no definite system of economic policy resulting from a definite economic theory, on the contrary there are quite opposite systems of economic policy conceivable and possible on the basis of the same economic theory,

according to the opposite economic ends which may be presupposed. There is always some definite economic end implied in a definite system of economic policy. In the system of economic policy which Adam Smith expounded in his *Wealth of Nations* the greatest possible wealth of a country is obviously implied as the economic end. In the system of economic policy of the mercantilists on the other hand the other object, viz. the economic independency and selfsufficiency of a country is implied as the economic end. And in the actual economic policy of most countries to-day also this mercantilistic end is implied. Thus we can understand that the present economic policy of most countries resembles much more the mercantile system of economic policy than the system of Adam Smith, although we regard the theoretical views of the mercantilists, which served them as the basis upon which they built their system of economic policy, as entirely wrong while still adhering to the economic theory of Adam Smith.

But even with the greatest possible wealth as the economic end in view Adam Smith's system of economic policy does not conclusively result, because, as we observed above, this term does not imply a wholly distinct and definite conception. The

term: "the greatest possible wealth" can be understood differently. By this term setting forth the economic end in view we may mean for instance the attainment of the greatest possible wealth in the shortest possible time for a country without regard to the present generation. This again may signify the attainment of the greatest possible wealth for a country at the price of much suffering for the existing people. And this was indeed the economic end which was implied, in A d a m S m i t h ' s system of economic policy. This whole system of economic policy, the policy of perfect economic freedom in industry and trade, this Laisser-faire or Manchester-Policy rested on the implied basis of an end like this. Adam Smith started with the theoretical issue that the chief cause of increasing wealth is the development of the division of labor and the application of labor-saving machinery, and he argued that perfect economic freedom in industry and trade is the suitable means for attaining the greatest possible wealth for a country, because it leads to extended division of labor and extended application of machinery. This supposition and this conclusion may both be true, but this economic policy did not prove suitable to the people at that time. Its result was the pauperisation and proletarianisation of the people.

The extension of the division of labor, which simplified the work of labor led to employment of children and women, and the rapid introduction of machines to unemployment of the old skilled workers. The end in view, a rapid increase of wealth, was reached, but only in the succeeding generation. The industrial development based upon this system of economic policy was purchased at the price of the pauperisation of a whole generation of workers. It is not likely that any generation would consciously pursue such an end. It is more likely that every generation would prefer a more slow and gradual or step by step development of wealth than such an industrial revolution which was brought about by the introduction of perfect economic freedom in connexion with the introduction of machinery in the 19th century. In fact we do not want wealth for a country as an abstract idea and without regard to the living generation, but we want wealth for the present generation as well as for the future generation. We have a d i f f e r e n t economic end in view than that which was implied in the system of economic policy of A d a m S m i t h and the classical writers on political economy, and about this end there can be no logical discussion.

But even in this sense, the term "the greatest possible wealth for a country" taken as the greatest possible wealth for both present and future generations is not quite distinctly and clearly defined. There can still be the question, whether we want the greatest possible wealth of a country as a whole or the greatest possible per capita wealth as our economic end. Both imply a quite different economic policy. The greatest possible per capita wealth for a country may be attained by a system of free trade, but there may be a decrease of population and therefore a decrease of wealth on the whole for the country. Again, the greatest possible wealth for a country as a whole may be attained only by a system of restriction and protection, and that may imply a check to the development of per capita wealth.

This leads us to another point of outstanding importance regarding economic policy, and about which economic theory says nothing. The economic end is not the only one which we have in view in politics. Society never has one single end in view, but there is always a plurality of ends which are pursued side by side in society and these ends often collide. Thus there is not only an economic end pursued, as for instance, wealth

or economic independency, but also a political and a social end, for instance political power and social peace. Then there must always be some restriction or limitation in the pursuit of the one, say the economic one, in favour of the other, say the political or social one. Thus economic freedom with regard to the working contract might be in favour of the progress of wealth, but at the same time may be opposed to social peace, and maintenance of social peace may require a legal restriction of this freedom. Therefore one may be right or not in saying that legal protection of labor cuts down economic efficiency, it is not of decisive importance for the solution of the question of legal protection of labor, if this question is understood as a question of social peace. This point also bears on the question of free trade.

Free trade may be an expedient measure for increasing the per capita wealth of a country, but, at the same time it may be found opposed to the political power of the country. For political power presupposes a large population, but under a regime of free trade a country may not be able to retain the increase of its population within its boundaries or may even lose a part of its former population owing to want of employment.

So many densely populated communities of the middle ages in Europe have lost a great part of their population in consequence of the change in economic conditions as brought about by the development of the means of transportation, and have lost with it their former political significance and power. Therefore free trade may be quite a suitable means to certain economic ends, but it may not prove suitable with regard to some other ends and under the aspect of politics as a whole.

There is then still a third point of importance bearing on questions of economic policy which is not covered by economic theory. This is: Theory is abstract, that is to say, it describes facts only from a certain definite aspect and leaves out of account all other aspects. It does not ascertain concrete facts with all their concrete attributes, connexions and relations and all their concrete causes and effects. This is the scope of history. Theory only ascertains and states a certain kind of all the attributes of a fact, and of its connexions and relations and its causes and effects. It takes into consideration only those attributes and those connexions and relations and those causes

and effects of a fact which are seen from a certain point of view and which are always seen from this point of view, and abstracts from all other attributes, connexions and relations, causes and effects. We call those attributes, connexions and relations, causes and effects of a fact, which are always seen from a certain point of view, which are thus definitely bound up with the fact from the chosen aspect, the general or essential attributes, connexions and relations, causes and effects of this fact from this point of view, and say, theory only ascertains and states the general attributes, connexions and relations, causes and effects of the facts, those essential to it from a certain point of view. In reality there may be a great number of attributes, connexions and relations, causes and effects, which have a very important bearing on the actual case, but are not essential to it from the definite point of view of the theory in question. Practice however deals with concrete facts in all their actual attributes, connexions and relations and all their concrete causes and effects. We also say: theory simplifies the case and

takes into account only a definite set of isolated forces in order to ascertain their pure effect. In reality however no forces operate in isolation. The forces taken into account by theory are operating in reality in connexion with other forces, which modify their effect or may neutralize or check it altogether. Practice however, which wants to influence facts and events and to direct forces to certain effects as desired ends has to take into account all forces which are in operation in order to ascertain their combined effect and the real outcome of their combined action. We may also say: theory abstracts from the concrete circumstances of the case. It only takes into account the general circumstances of the case, that is to say, those essential to it from the point of view of this theory, it leaves out of account all other circumstances which, although they may have a very important bearing on the case, yet are not essential to it. It considers the operating of the forces with which it deals, under the presupposed general circumstances. Practice however, which has to deal with reality has to take into account all circumstances which have an important bearing on the actual case, although they may not be essential to it from the aspect under which theory investigates them.

Practice must ascertain the operating of the forces considered from the actual circumstances under which these forces are operating.

All this, of course, is true also for economic theory and its relation to economic policy. Economic theory only deals with economic facts from an economical aspect. It ascertains the general and essential features of economic facts, their general and essential connexions and relations, their general and essential causes and effects, that is to say those features, those connexions and relations and those causes and effects which are always found in economic facts. Economic theory deals only with economic forces, and their operating under certain general conditions and circumstances. Economic policy however is practice and has to deal with all forces operating in actual economic facts and events, and to take into account all circumstances which determine the economic outcome of these forces, in order to direct them to a certain effect which is the desired economic end in view. Thus economic policy has to take into account not only economic forces and economic circumstances alone, but also all other kinds of forces, technical,

social etc., which are operating in the case considered, and all other kinds of circumstances, under which all those forces are operating.

Now we can see quite clearly, why no economic theory, even the most correct and most complete one can furnish definite political measures for attaining a certain economic end or a definite system of economic policy. Economic policy is not only applied economic theory, but also applied technology, applied psychology, applied ethics, applied sociology etc. Expedient economic policy presupposes a much broader knowledge than economic theory can give. Furthermore, as economic policy depends, in addition to the economic and other ends of society and the economic theory in force, also upon the circumstances under which certain political measures are to operate, and as those circumstances themselves also change no system of economic policy is in fact suitable to all times and countries, but every time and country requires its own particular economic policy even on the supposition of having the same ends in view and on the ground of the same economic theory.

This point again is bound up with the question of free trade. The free trade

doctrine proceeded from the supposition of a like economic development in different countries and of unhindered mobility of the agents of production. But nowhere are these suppositions in actual fact realised. Different countries are found in a very different stage of economic development and the different stages of economic development are very important circumstances with regard to the effect of free trade for the economic ends of a country. Likewise nowhere is a perfect mobility of the agents of productions found. On the contrary, one of them, land, is of necessity immobile and with regard to the two others there are a great many obstacles and difficulties preventing free movement, especially between two different countries or nations having different habits and customs, different languages, different political and legal institutions etc., all of which affect the mobility of capital and labor in very different ways. Besides the natural obstacles and difficulties for a free movement of the factors of production there are also artificial and arbitrary obstacles for free movement of labor and capital between two countries, which obstacles have been in fact recently established in our days by many states. The degree of mobility of the factors of production from one country to another is of course also a circumstance having a very

important bearing on the effect of free trade for the economic ends of a country. Free trade affects the wealth of a nation and its economic progress in very different ways according to the degree of the mobility of the agents of production.

This all shows us where economic theory fails with regard to economic policy. But there is still the question to be answered; what does economic theory then accomplish with regard to economic policy. It does not supply us with a definite system of political measures with regard to our economic ends. That means, it does, as an applied theory, not tell us all we must do in a concrete case in order to attain our economic ends, but it shows us, what we must of necessity do in order not to fail in attaining our economic objects. It shows us the essential conditions to be brought into existence when we want to attain a certain economic object. There may incidentally be other, although not essential yet very important, conditions for attaining a certain economic object in the concrete case, about which economic theory tells us nothing. But there are always some conditions on which a certain economic object essentially depends, as effect, and economic theory as applied theory shows us which these

are in a certain definite case. There may also be others, not essential, which it is not a matter of economic theory to designate. And at all events, economic theory shows us what we must not do in a certain case if we want to attain our object, because of the quite contrary effect resulting from an intended political measure.

On the whole we can say: Economic policy is an art and theory cannot show us positively how to exercise that art, but theory supplies us with a rational basis for its execution which prevents us from making mistakes in carrying it out. Yet although its aim is an economic one its rational basis cannot be supplied by such a single science as economic theory, but only by the number of sciences or theories collectively which respectively deal with the different kinds of causes and forces which are in operation to bring about economic effects. Economic theory in itself does not enable us to solve practical economic questions and to pursue successfully the art of economic policy, but it supplies the principles which must never be neglected if the end in view is to be attained. These principles are not the only ones necessary for the solution of practical economic questions, but still they are necessary elements in their solution, and if it is not advisable

to use them as the sole guide in the conduct of economic affairs it is however indispensable to use them as guides. The statesman who wants to influence the production and distribution of wealth and the economic development must of course take into account all facts and causes which affect the case in question, the extraeconomical ones as well as the economical ones, which means, that at any rate he has to take into account economic facts and causes, if he wants to succeed.

So we finally see that economic policy presupposes also a correct economic theory. The disregard of the economic theory on the part of some practical economists is in most cases due to the imperfect character of the existing economic theory. If Economics had attained the perfection of Physics nobody would disregard its necessity and usefulness for Politics, just as nobody disregards the requirement and usefulness of Physics for Technics. But economic theory indeed is incomplete and imperfect and we cannot expect it to be otherwise. For economic theory is a very young science, not more than a century old. It is easily conceivable that it cannot be perfect. Its generalisations are often premature and have not the test of experience. They often cannot have it, because

the time for acquiring experience has been too short and in our science we have not the advantageous means for experiment at hand like the natural sciences, in order to gain the necessary arbitrary and methodical experience. We have to wait until we are taught by the experience of life. And life never shows us the pure essence of things observed. It does not show us what is valid for all cases and for all times, but only what is prevalent in certain concrete cases and certain periods of development. Our observations and abstractions are all drawn from the facts of a certain period and we are too inclined to regard them as being invariably valid for all times and all cases. This is one of the most frequent errors which occur in economic science.

One of the most comprehensive and most sweeping generalisations of this kind in the last century was the theory of Karl Marx. His conclusions about economic development and social evolution rest upon a broad basis of observations and experiences during his time. He saw, as an outcome of industrial development after the introduction of machinery into the process of production, the conditions of labor and life for the working classes getting worse and worse and the antagonism between employers and emplo-

yees becoming ever more acute and so he argued that this development will finally c o m p e l the laboring classes to overthrow the present capitalistic regime and establish socialism in its place. This is the core of the Marxian theory. However the facts he observed were merely those of the period in which he lived and of only a certain stage of economic and social development and he was wrong in generalising them as continuing for all time. Although the concentration of enterprises and the accumulation of capital continued, the development of the following period was quite a different one. The conditions of labor and life for the working classes were improving, partly as an outcome of the economic development itself, and partly in consequence of social policy. If we had not had the world war, the conditions of labor and life for the working classes in Western Europe would to-day be as satisfactory as they are for the majority of the workers in America, and people in Europe would no more think of socialism than they do in America. America shows us the m o s t a d v a n c e d stage of economic and social development, but it does n o t at the same time show us the w o r s t c o n d i t i o n s among the working classes as we should expect according to the Marxian theory of economic

and social evolution and it shows us no special inclination of the workers to establish socialism. Of course you may say: the particular economic conditions in America which have brought about a state of things like this are quite abnormal and unique and one must not judge the whole development from these particular facts. Well you are perfectly right. But then you must also realise that the economic conditions at the time of Karl Marx were also quite particular conditions peculiar to his age and that it is likewise wrong to judge the whole development from t h e s e particular conditions. It was the time of the introduction of machinery and when perfect economic freedom had been established. It was a period of a long though transitional economic crisis. This particular situation lasted a life time, but then disappeared. Then circumstances changed and the conditions of labor and living for the working classes changed with them. Of course the situation in America does not prove that there will never be socialism, but it proves that there is n o h i s t o - r i c a l n e c e s s i t y f o r s o c i a l i m i n h e r e n t i n c a p i t a - l i s m a n d i n c a p i t a l i s t i c e v o l u t i o n . The theory of Marx regarding economic and social development has proved a premature and incorrect genera-

lisation of facts of a certain period of development. There are a great many such premature generalisations in our science (Adam Smith's generalisations were also of this character) which enjoins us to be very careful in applying its doctrines to practical political questions.

Another shortcoming of the present economic theory is that it is not yet developed and completed in the way of taking into account minor economic forces which operate in an opposite or modifying direction than the main forces from which theory proceeds, and this also makes it applicable to concrete facts only under certain qualifications.

But all this does not prove anything against economic theory itself, and must not induce us to despise it or attach little value to it. On the contrary. If we look back to the state of natural sciences at the time when they were not older than one hundred or one hundred and fifty years, we can easily understand that economic theory to-day cannot do more than it actually does. This must only urge us to strive to develop it and make it more and more a suitable instrument to serve our practical purposes in economic policy.

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Retail Malt Beverage
Dealers' Association

A petition to the members
of the 69th Congress...

[Chicago]

[192-]

97-84145-5

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[Retail malt beverage dealers' association.]

Box 284 A petition to the members of the 69th Congress of the United States of America, from the former members of the Retail liquor dealers' protective association of Illinois, requesting compensation for the monetary losses which they suffered when their property was confiscated by the lawmakers who voted for the eighteenth amendment. [Chicago, Ringley, 192-]

31 p. 19 cm.

"Liquor dealers' protective association of Illinois, now organized as the Retail malt beverage dealers' association." - p. 3.

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A PETITION

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 69TH CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, FROM
THE FORMER MEMBERS OF THE RETAIL
LIQUOR DEALERS' PROTECTIVE ASSOCIA-
TION OF ILLINOIS, REQUESTING COMPENSA-
TION FOR THE MONETARY LOSSES WHICH
THEY SUFFERED WHEN THEIR PROPERTY
WAS CONFISCATED BY THE LAWMAKERS WHO
VOTED FOR THE EIGHTEENTH AMENDMENT.

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THE FRED J. RINGLEY CO., CHICAGO



July 8, 1930 DA/Hec

TO THE MEMBERS OF THE 69TH CONGRESS
OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

On behalf of those citizens of Illinois, who were lawfully engaged in the liquor business and known as the Liquor Dealers' Protective Association of Illinois, now organized as the Retail Malt Beverage Dealers' Association, and on behalf of those citizens of the United States of America who were similarly engaged in the liquor business, we the undersigned most respectfully ask that we be compensated for the property losses which we suffered when our lawfully acquired and lawfully owned property was confiscated by the lawmakers who voted for the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States of America.

The Eighteenth Amendment did not provide for compensation for property losses as provided for in the last clause of the Fifth Amendment which reads: "NOR SHALL PRIVATE PROPERTY BE TAKEN FOR PUBLIC USE WITHOUT JUST COMPENSATION."

Although five years have elapsed since the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and its enforcement law, known as the Volstead Act, no attempt has been made by the Congress of the United States to observe that provision of the Fifth Amendment which assures all citizens that their property will not be confiscated without just compensation.

False
reason
for
confiscation

We, therefore, wish to draw the attention of Congress to the gross injustice that is being done to a large number of citizens of this country, by its failure to comply with that clause of the Fifth Amendment which was incorporated for the purpose of safeguarding the property rights of the men and women of this Republic.

Those who advocated confiscatory prohibition claimed that the manufacture and consumption of malt, spirituous and vinous liquors were detrimental to the best interests of the people at large and that many of the places where such liquors were sold were patronized by evil men and immoral women.

There were places of public resort that were a disgrace and a discredit to the liquor traffic. We wish, however, to say to your Honorable Body that where such disreputable places existed, there were Municipal and State laws regulating the same, and it was due to the laxity of, and the payment of blackmail, to the law enforcing officers, that these places were permitted to exist. It was therefore unfair to the large majority who conducted their places of business in an orderly manner, that they should be included with and made to suffer for the conduct of the officially protected places of ill-repute.

The licensed liquor dealers who maintained disreputable places, and those who sold liquor without a license could not have pursued their vocations for twenty-four hours, unless they paid blackmail to the enforcement officers of the district in which they were located, for immunity from official interference.

The intolerant who urged repression knew this. He knew that the hands of these public officials were smeared with the filthiest money that grafters collect. He knew that these officials were always dipping into the pockets of the disreputable for every dollar they could force these unfortunates to pay. He knew that when he associated the law-abiding liquor dealer with open vice, he spoke falsely, and slanderously, and bore false witness. He knew that everything associated with the liquor traffic that was vile, vicious and indefensible, was being done against the wishes of the law-abiding liquor dealer and not with his consent and approval.

In judging the liquor dealer it must be remembered that before securing a license or permit to conduct a

Only
resorts
that
pay
blackmail
flourish

saloon the applicant's character had to be investigated and reported favorably by the public authorities.

The liquor dealers, through the officers of their various organizations, have frequently protested against the granting of liquor licenses to disreputables, but we have never been able to break the alliance between the official bribe-taker and the payer of blackmail.

The most convincing evidence of the arbitrary, absolute and Czaristic power of the law enforcement officer over the liquor selling brothel, and immoral cabarets, was published in the Chicago Daily News, a very reputable journal, on February 21st, 1925, under the caption: "Why Harrison shut Everleigh Club revealed."

The following is an excerpt from the reporter's story: "The mayor shriveled the chief (of police) with one glance.

"Close the Everleigh Club and keep it closed," he said.

"And it was closed before the chief took time to adjust his tie."

That the reporter wrote truthfully is evident from the fact that his story has not been challenged. It should not be necessary to say that this mayor had the same arbitrary power over every other place of ill-repute in the City of Chicago at that time, and their number was estimated at about twenty-five hundred.

Why should fair-minded men charge the lawfully licensed liquor traffic with responsibility for conditions over which it had no control?

The intolerant as a justification for repression and confiscation would always stress his love for the drunkard. He would save the drunkard in order that the unfortunate wife and children might have the comforts which they were denied by the extravagance of the husband and father who was allowed to spend his earnings for the gratification of his intemperate appetite.

Now let us see whether the love of the intolerant for the drunkard, the drunkard's wife and the drunkard's children is as sincere as he declared it to be.

During the hearings on the Cramton bill it was brought out that potable alcohol was poisoned in order that it would kill any unfortunate who might, in his ignorance, drink it. The intemperate man who is arbitrarily denied the right to drink a distilled liquor does

Vicious
resorts
did not
run in
defiance
of public
officials

How the
intolerant
loves the
drunkard

not also lose his desire for alcoholic beverages. He knows that he is breaking no law of nature or law of God when he indulges in an alcoholic drink.

He would not feel that he was guilty of any moral transgression if he availed himself of an opportunity to obtain a little alcohol and drink it. But if he does drink this alcohol which was potable, he may find that death is at the bottom of his cup. The man who professed to love this drunkard has hired a chemist to poison this harmless potable beverage, in order that it may destroy the life of every human creature who may thoughtlessly, inadvertently, or boldly take a chance on drinking it.

The chemist who is paid to kill these unfortunate drinkers was asked by Senator Reed of Missouri, "Don't you think it an approach to murder to put a subtle poison into alcohol which you think might be converted into liquor?" When the chemist objected to the suggestion of a murderous intent, the Senator said, "You have already said a poison is put in alcohol, and yet some buy this alcohol, supposed to be pure, to use in liquor manufacture. You know one-tenth of alcohol is being drunk, and yet you poison it. I think you are poisoning the American people. I think it is wicked, damnable, and if you can think of any other adjective put it in."

When sixteen men died from drinking poisoned alcohol in New York City, a reporter asked a prominent advocate of prohibition what he had to say about the unfortunate incident. The apostle of love rubbed his hands together and replied, "The next generation will be better off." He did not shed even a crocodile tear, and did not express one word of sympathy for the wives and children who had lost their breadwinners, and for whom he had so often wept copiously.

The nomads of the desert are untutored and savage. They fight with the zeal and fury of the fanatic. They may hate the enemy so fiercely as to hoist the black flag and battle to the knife, but they will not poison a well.

A more bitter hatred between two foes than that of the French and German soldiers toward one another in the last war is unknown in history, and yet neither poisoned their lead.

Senator
Reed
condemns
use of
poison

When the professional reformers were soliciting money from large corporations to promote confiscatory prohibition, they did not say they wished to obtain for the worker shorter hours, better wages, improved sanitation, and a general safe-guarding of his health. On the contrary, the apostle of love would say to these corporate employers, "Do you want to have some thick skulled labor thug come into your office and tell you how many hours your men shall work, what their task shall be and what you shall pay them? If you don't want that to happen and you want to run your own business in your own way, let us have the money and we will get rid of that forum of the poor where workmen congregate and exchange views, and labor unions breed." One of the solicitors said that it was that kind of a plea that "got the money."

One of the strongest evidences of the pharisaical sophistry and shameless hypocrisy of the advocates of confiscatory prohibition was their protestations of love for the children of the victims of intemperance. When they appeared before audiences from whom they expected very little money, but hoped for many votes, they would shed great gobs of tears as they reviewed the pitiful and heart-rending spectacle of little children working in the mills and the mines and the factories, under morality-destroying and health-destroying conditions, while the drunken father filled with whisky was out of a job and laying around the house.

"Give us your money and your votes," they cried, "and we will take the little ones that Christ loved out of the mills and the mines and the factories and return them to their hearthstones and their mother's affectionate and watchful care. We will convert the drunken father to sobriety and we will provide him with employment in the mill or the mine or the factory out of which we have taken his little children."

Did these professional apostles of love abolish child slavery when they had a chance to do so by ratifying the Child-Labor Amendment? They did not.

They voted to keep the child slaves in the mills and the mines and the factories.

The drunken father is still at home and out of a job. His services would cost more than the labor of his chil-

Hypocrisy
of
professed
love for
children

Greed for
money
greater
than
child
love

dren. It takes more of his children's earnings to pay for the whisky which he now buys from the blackmail-paying politically protected bootlegger.

The men who furnished the money to buy prohibition votes are eager to grind as many dollars as they can out of the frail and tender bodies of little children.

When these men, who are the owners of the mills, and the mines and the factories, realized that the passage of the Child-Labor Amendment (not the Eighteenth Amendment), would eventually force them to employ at higher wages the jobless fathers of the children they are now exploiting, they ordered their marionettes to beat the Amendment, and their marionettes obeyed.

A sociological student might in all sincerity ask if the lawmakers who confiscated the liquor dealers property really loved the men, women and children for whose benefit it was confiscated.

The poor men and woman wage-earners of the country did not ask that the liquor dealers be robbed, and they did not ask these lawmakers for any such evidence of beneficence as a sumptuary muzzle for themselves. On the contrary, the laws which the poor asked these lawmakers for they did not get.

It was within the power of these dry lawmakers to make conditions so idealistic for the wage-earner that among the nations of the earth America would have become the worker's paradise. They controlled two-thirds of our National Congress and a legislative majority in forty-six states.

The laws which the working men and women asked for were not unfair, unreasonable or extreme, and they were not confiscatory. If effective, they might lessen the gold-boarding power of the exploiter, but they would have humanized working conditions and made life better for millions of our very best citizens. Is there a man whose mind is fair who will deny the justice of these demands of Labor:

A law limiting the hours of labor.

A law providing a pension for men and women who are infirm and old.

Beneficent
laws
refused

A law providing such sanitary regulations, and shop safeguards as would be necessary to protect the worker against disease and accident.

A law to abolish Child Slavery.

All the sincere and loyal leaders of organized labor have asked for these laws.

The passage of such laws would have caused all wage-earning men and women in the U. S. A. to raise their eyes and voices towards Heaven and thank the Ruler of the Universe for such magnanimous gifts from the altruistic human groups in Congress and the forty-six states.

It would be hard to find a money-grubbing reactionary so hard-boiled and conscienceless as to deny their justice. Did these lawmaking lovers of the poor pass the laws which the workers pleaded for? They did not.

Here is the way these Pharisees are described by William Gilmore Simms:

"Their friendship is a lurking snare,
Their honor but an idle breath,
Their smiles the smiles that traitors wear,
Their love is hate, their life is death."

An impartial observer might ask, "What is it that makes the burning zealot so icy and austere when laws are asked for that will constructively help those whom he professes to love?

What is it that transforms those wells of sympathy into the apples of Sodom?

Why do those manifestations of grief prove to be like the tears of the crocodile?

Why do these dry lawmakers become as whited sepulchres filled with dead men's bones when they hear the cry of the little children who are pleading to be released from the deadly soul destroying life in the mine and the mill and the factory?

Why do they ignore the fact that men are being caressed with balmy zephyrs on the golf links, while the children are shackled to the machine, and forced to breathe a stifling and suffocating atmosphere?

Why are they cold to the prayer of the poet who said:

How sincere
was their
love for
the wage-
earner?

The
apothecosis
of
hypocrisy

"While the tenements are reeking
With the striving, toiling poor,
Do not send your Churchmen seeking
Help for heathens to my door.
Let them go where sin carouses
Or where seething sweatshops stand,
Let them see the slaughter houses
Of the children of the land."

What chills the ardor of these dry men who pleaded love for children as they cast confiscatory votes, and yet at this very time, under a dry regime, ignore conditions which are as indefensible and disgraceful to civilization as those described by Elizabeth Barrett Browning when she said:

Do you hear the children weeping, O my brothers,
Ere the sorrow comes with years?
They are leaning their young heads against their
mothers,—

And that cannot stop their tears,
The young lambs are bleating in the meadows,
The young birds are chirping in the nest,
The young fawns are playing with the shadows,
The young flowers are blowing toward the west:

But the young, young children, O my brothers,
They are weeping bitterly:—

They are weeping in the playtime of the others.
In this country of the free.

The
inspiration
of the
pharisee

An answer to the observer's question might be found in the story of a professional reformer who publicly declared that it cost Thirty Million Dollars to put over confiscatory prohibition.

There are few men so weak in mind as to believe that this huge fund was all spent for office rent and printed matter and solicitors' commissions. The more practical-minded citizen will conclude that a great deal of this money eventually reached the campaign funds of many of the lawmakers who voted to confiscate the property of the liquor dealer, and that it was this money, and not a desire to ameliorate the misery of the women and children, that caused such lawmakers to vote dry.

A curious person might ask the reason for the tremendous contributions made by oil merchants to the fund used by prohibition fanatics. There is a reason. On the 7th of June, 1906, denatured alcohol was made tax free. On that date gasoline sold for ten cents a gallon and alcohol for eight cents a gallon. Many engineers agree that as a source of power, alcohol is superior to gasoline.

If the farmers of the U. S. A. could use their waste material in the manufacture of alcohol the only expense would be their labor. That would enable the farmer to provide himself with alcohol for light, heat and power at an infinitesimal cost. The farmer must be stopped. Through their control over the Revenue Department, the oil merchants made governmental regulations so severe and expensive that the farmers could not comply. That was the end of the farmer.

But there were many great distilleries so thoroughly equipped that they could have kept alcohol on the market at less than ten cents per gallon. The distilleries must be stopped. There was no better way of stopping them than by financing fanaticism. This was done, and the distilleries were stopped as competitors of the oil producers. That relieved the oil merchants from any danger of alcoholic competition.

There was no reason why the price of gasoline should not be raised. It was raised. The oil merchants are now getting big financial returns as a result of their successful promotion of confiscatory prohibition. On the basis of a four billion gallon per year consumption, the oil merchants are robbing the American people each year of forty millions of dollars, for each cent above ten cents per gallon which they force the citizen to pay for gasoline. Could a better reason be given for financing confiscation?

Manifestations
of love
by oil
merchants

Motive
for
oily
love

The defenders of confiscation claimed that the liquor trade was illegal and its annihilation does not come under the protection of the compensation clause of Amendment V of the Constitution.

We claim that the liquor business was always considered a legitimate business from the time that the Pilgrim Fathers landed on Plymouth Rock, where history records that they commenced to brew beer imme-

Judge
Brewer
on
confiscation

diately after landing. They had consumed so much on their long voyage that their stock had become exhausted.

We claim that the manufacture, sale and consumption of malt, spirituous and vinous liquors has always been considered a legitimate business until the prohibition law became effective.

Judge Brewer, of the United States Circuit Court of Kansas (who afterwards became a Justice of the Supreme Court), held that the state can prohibit a brewer from brewing, but BEFORE IT CAN DO SO IT MUST PAY TO THE OWNER THE VALUE OF THE PROPERTY DESTROYED.

Judge Brewer, speaking before the Yale Law School in 1891, said, "I am here to say to you that the demands of absolute and eternal justice forbid that any private property legally acquired and legally held should be spoliated or destroyed in the interest of public health, morals or welfare, without compensation." He further said: "When a lawful use is by statute made unlawful and forbidden and its value destroyed the public shall make compensation to the individual."

Former President Taft declared on one occasion: "The Supreme Court often, very often, renders decisions not according to law, but by public sentiment."

In the case of Taney, Trustee for the Miller Pure Rye Distilling Company, bankrupt, Appellant, vs. The Penn National Bank of Reading, Pa., Appellee, it declared in unmistakable language that the liquor business has a legal standing. The court further says that:

"We know of no ground for this condemning of honest transactions which grow out of a recognized necessity of a LAWFUL BUSINESS."

In the case of Kirmeyer vs. The State of Kansas: It was alleged that after receivers had been appointed to oust certain wholesale liquor dealers from doing business in Kansas that Kirmeyer went across the river into Missouri, established a warehouse there, and continued to deliver beer in Kansas. The Kansas Supreme Court held that his removal was a mere device to evade the Kansas Prohibition Liquor Law and that the trade was not interstate commerce, "IN GOOD FAITH."

The United States Supreme Court held that Kirmeyer was entitled to protection for his trade as interstate

Supreme
Court on
beer as
property

commerce, and dismissed the injunction of the Kansas Supreme Court. Justice McReynolds, in rendering the decision said, "Decisions of the Supreme Court preclude further discussion of the following facts:

"Beer is a recognized article of commerce. The right to send it from one State to another and the act of doing so are interstate commerce—the regulation whereof has been committed to Congress—and a State law that denies such right or substantially interferes with or hampers the same is in conflict with the Constitution of the United States."

In the decision of the United States Supreme Court of the Adams Express Company vs. The Commonwealth of Kentucky, reported in 1915, the court quoted and indorsed the following opinion of the Kentucky Court of Appeals, declaring that the use of alcohol in beverages is a constitutional right:

"The history of our State from its beginning shows that there was never even the claim of a right on the part of the legislature to interfere with the citizen using liquor for his own comfort, provided that in so doing he committed no offense against public decency by being intoxicated; and we are of the opinion that it never has been within the competency of the legislature to so restrict the liberty of the citizen, and certainly not since the adoption of the present constitution. The Bill of Rights, which declared that among the inalienable rights possessed by the citizens is that of seeking and pursuing their safety and happiness, and that the absolute and arbitrary power over the lives, liberty and property of freemen exists nowhere in a republic, not even in the largest majority, would be but an empty sound if the legislature could prohibit the citizen the right of owning or drinking liquor, when in so doing he did not offend the laws of decency by being intoxicated in public. Therefore the question of what a man will drink, or eat, or own, provided the rights of others are not invaded, is one which addresses itself alone to the will of the citizen. It is not within the competency of government to invade the privacy of a citizen's life and to regulate his conduct in matters in which he alone is concerned, or to prohibit him any liberty, the exercise of which will not directly injure society."

Kentucky
courts on
the citizens'
rights

Judge
Pollock
on
Anglo-Saxon
liberty

Judge John Pollock of the United States Circuit Court of Wichita, Kansas, in rendering a recent decision in a liquor case, said:

"It is sometimes thought one of the most difficult matters to understand—that is, for an intelligent human being to understand—why a free people of the Anglo-Saxon race will deliberately, through their representatives in the legislature of the State and in their National legislature, enslave themselves to the State and to the Government. No people ever before have so many sovereigns dealing with them as the people of this country."

The Supreme Court of Montana, in 1916, handed down an opinion, holding that a saloonist's property cannot be destroyed without compensation.

Montana
court
against
confiscation

During the "Muckie" McDonald rebellion in Butte, Montana, in the fall of 1914, the saloons were ordered closed by the State. Col. Dan J. Donohue, commanding the Second Montana Infantry, seized some liquor from the bar-room of a saloonist who disobeyed the order to close and ordered the liquor to be poured into the gutter. The liquor dealers, afterwards, brought suit and secured a verdict of \$300.00 in the District Court in Butte. In affirming this verdict, the Supreme Court said:

"Under constitutional government such as ours the destruction of private property without compensation to the owner must be the last resort, available only in the presence of imminent and overwhelming necessity which brooks no delay in failing to allege facts sufficiently to disclose such necessity, the answer fails to make out a justification for the trespass, and for the reason the offered evidence was properly rejected."

Supreme
Court on
liquor dealers'
property
rights

In the case of Leisy vs. Hardin the Supreme Court said: "That ardent spirits, distilled liquors, ale, and beer are subjects of exchange, barter and traffic, like any other commodity IN WHICH A RIGHT OF TRAFFIC EXISTS, and are so recognized by the usages of the commercial world, the laws of Congress, and the decisions of courts, is not denied."

From these decisions it can plainly be seen that the liquor business has been within the law and the prop-

erty rights of those engaged in it are entitled to the protection of the law.

We contend that our property rights should be safeguarded with the same constitutional care that we now accord to the states in their representation in the Senate of the United States.

If there be any doubt as to the justice of our claim for compensation, we beg to say, that since the year 1863, when President Lincoln signed the Excise Revenue Bill, providing for a tax on malt and spirituous liquors in order to provide funds to carry on the war that saved the Union, the United States Government has been in partnership with the liquor dealer, and a most exacting partner, the representative in this partnership being the Internal Revenue Commissioner, who has been a law unto himself and his decisions have been final. He measured out the grain to be used in the malting and distilling and decided how many gallons of beer or liquor should be derived therefrom, and when the process was over he took charge of the same, put it under lock and key until such time as he was paid his share of the business before he would permit the owner to dispose of the same. If that is not a close partnership affair we can find nothing in history that records a closer or a more exacting one.

Government
partnership
with
liquor dealers

That the partnership existed, the more reasonable opponents of the business have not denied.

The late D. Clarence Gibboney, for many years the President of the Law and Order League of Philadelphia, before the Temperance Committee of the Pennsylvania Legislature, March 15, 1915, said:

Gibboney
on property
rights

"The liquor business is the manufacture of and the commerce in alcoholic beverages carried on by individuals in a profit sharing partnership with the nation and state and from which profit sharing partnership the United States Government each year takes some \$325,000,000 as its share of the proceeds and from the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania gets 'rum' profits exceeding seven and a half millions of dollars annually.

"That is what the liquor business is and the sooner we face the problem honestly and frankly, admitting it to be exactly what we know it to be—a profit sharing

alliance deliberately entered into for the individual and collective profit of all of the people in the State—the sooner shall we make some real progress towards a successful elimination of the ills which we, and not a comparatively handful of men called the liquor dealers, have brought upon the State."

The Reverend E. C. Dinwiddie, D. D., formerly Legislative Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, Washington, D. C., said:

"The partnership of the Government is shown by the fact that before a man can engage in the business he must have a permit from the State or County or Municipality in which his business is conducted. There can hardly be any question about the partnership of the Federal Government with the liquor traffic."

Bishop H. C. Morrison, D. D., at one time the Vice-President of the Anti-Saloon League of America, Birmingham, Alabama, said:

"Mr. Webster in his dictionary says: 'A partner is one who partakes or shares with another.' The Government participates or shares with the liquor traffic, therefore, the Government is in partnership with the liquor traffic. Either this is true or words have no meaning."

The Golden Rule, a magazine published in St. Louis, Missouri, by Rev. W. A. Robinson, formerly Superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League, in an editorial on this subject, says:

"There can hardly be any question about the partnership of the Federal Government with the liquor traffic. The National Government received about \$325,000,000 revenue each year from retail and wholesale liquor dealers and from the taxes on distilled and fermented liquors. The Government practically took charge of their manufacture—a man proposing to start a distillery must secure the approval of Federal officials before he can erect his building or begin the process of manufacture. THEY DO NOT EVEN LET THE DISTILLER CARRY THE KEY TO HIS OWN BUILDING. The whole life of a distilling plant is run under the control of the Internal Revenue Bureau

of the Federal Government. THE PARTNERSHIP IS ABSOLUTE AND WELL DEFINED."

Upon the testimony of these unimpeachable witnesses is based the claim that the United States Government was in partnership with the liquor business, and further from September 1, 1862, to January 1, 1920, the United States Government collected as its share of the partnership the enormous sum of Eleven Billion Nine Hundred and Thirty Millions Four Hundred and Seventeen Thousand Eight Hundred Dollars (\$11,930,417,800).

Will any right thinking person claim that the United States Government can rightfully and justly dissolve such a partnership without compensating its partners for their monetary losses in buildings, machinery, fixtures, stocks and other accessories which have been practically rendered useless?

The United States Government wishes to stand before the world as an example of probity, honesty and uprightness. But are we just to the men and women of England who have money invested in American breweries? Will we confiscate their property without compensation? England may have her faults, but it does respect property rights. It always compensates brewers and liquor dealers who may be deprived of their property by law for the general good.

Just prior to the enforcement of confiscatory prohibition, January 20, 1920, there were stored in the United States Bonded Warehouses, approximately 85,000,000 gallons of whisky held there by the United States Government, under lock and key, in charge of its officers waiting for its share of the profits.

This whisky was owned and paid for by the Government's co-partners. They were told that it must be taken out within a year, but later by order of the representatives of the Government this time was reduced to five and one-half months. Owing to the glutted condition of the market this was, in too many cases, impossible. The Government made no effort to prevent the avaricious warehouse men from taking advantage of the Government's attitude by increasing their storage charges from pre-prohibition charges of 5 cents per barrel per month to 25 cents, 50 cents, 75 cents and even in

Warehouse
men rob
liquor dealers

Dinwiddie
Morrison,
Robinson
uphold
property
rights

Uncle Sam's
share of
the profits

Government
did not
stop whiskey
thefts

some cases as high as \$1.00 per month, per barrel. In many cases the owners of the stored whisky, unintentionally neglecting to pay these exorbitant charges, lost their property because the warehouse men took advantage of the State Warehouse Law, which permitted them to sell this whisky after advertising in some obscure paper, unknown and unobtainable by the unsuspecting owners of said whisky, sold the same under foreclosure proceedings for accrued charges. The actual owners were left without recourse. The Government secured its share of the profits before the goods could be removed by its new owners.

In many cases the United States Government failed to give sufficient police protection to these whisky warehouses in order to prevent theft and, as a result, its partners—the owners—have lost thousands of barrels of whisky by theft. In some instances whisky has been illegally seized by the United States officers. Upon judicial investigation, this whisky has been ordered returned to the rightful owner. Instead of being returned this whisky has been found to have mysteriously disappeared and up to this time the Government has failed to make any effort to compensate the owners for their property.

This is neither right nor just for one partner to do to another. Can the United States Government stand before the world as a paragon of justice and fair dealing without first compensating their former partners?

Your predecessors flouted our property rights in a most unjust and inequitable manner in the matter of taxation. On October 3, 1917, they imposed on the liquor dealer an extra tax of \$2.10 per gallon on every gallon of distilled spirits which he had in his stock on that date. On February 24, 1919, Congress forced the payment of another extra tax of \$3.20 per gallon on every gallon of distilled spirits which the liquor dealer had in stock on that date.

To pay these arbitrary, unforeseen and unexpected special taxes was a task which many small dealers found to be very difficult. A great many of the retailers had to mortgage their property in order to get the money to pay these special taxes. The Internal Revenue Collector was as careful to get his pound of flesh as any Shylock the world ever knew. He examined with

Congress
forces
payment
of exorbitant
taxes

meticulous care every barrel, jug and bottle on the floor. He did not let an ounce escape his notice. He wanted to collect every cent that it was in his power to make the retailer pay—and he collected the last cent.

And then when that Congress felt that it had gotten out of the retailer every dollar it was possible to make him pay, it forbade him to sell any of these tax paid goods he may have had on his floor on July 1, 1919.

The retailer was not compensated for his unsold goods, and no pretense was made by Congress to return to the dealer the tax he had paid on the goods he was denied the privilege of selling.

For fear that he may have been forgotten, permit us to refer to Captain Richard Pearson Hobson, who introduced a prohibition resolution in 1916. He had this to say regarding compensation:

"If the liquor men surrender there is a chance that they will get compensation for their property thus put out of use and help given to men temporarily out of employment. If the liquor men fight to the end they will not get a dollar of compensation."

But Mr. Hobson's sincerity did not stand the acid test, when our organization tendered him the following addition to his prohibition resolution:

"Provided, however, that in all cases where private property is taken or damaged for the public use or welfare by virtue of this provision, due compensation shall be made therefor in such manner as shall be provided by law."

Hobson refused to accept this addition, proving that his proclaimed desire to be fair was false and without meaning.

It must be remembered that a few years ago when the foot and mouth disease raged among the cattle of the country, the United States Government, after due investigation, decided that for the general good all cattle infected with the disease must be killed. The farmers who owned the infected cattle were fairly compensated by the Government for their losses.

Mr. Edward A. Gore, one of the most influential members of the Chicago Association of Commerce, took occasion to give his views on compensating liquor men. He said:

Hobson on
compensation

Edward A.
Gore on the
equity of
compensation

"The treatment accorded the liquor man is unjust and un-American. Once let this principle be established, that property in one line of business may be destroyed—that the owner may be despoiled of his property, and the same rule will be held good with respect to other properties that those over-charged with puritanism may select for destruction.

"We have long held ourselves up to the citizens of the world as a country which invites the oppressed of other lands to come to its shores and here find freedom of opportunity, here find the protection of laws guaranteeing equality to all. In this light, the treatment the liquor men have met with, I am afraid that that proud boast of Americans must be challenged. Freedom has been ours, but there seems to be an element of puritanism in our country which would tread freedom down and erect in its stead something masquerading in its habiliments which even the puritan would have repudiated as representing what must be the principles of this country."

Kern
on
compensation

Senator John Kern of Indiana, in an interview at Indianapolis on November 22, 1918, predicted that within the next few years Indiana would be a prohibition State. "There are," he added, "serious problems involved in making a State dry. For instance, the question of compensation to licensed liquor dealers and brewers for property losses they may suffer through the adoption of prohibition."

In the Aurora, Indiana, Bulletin, appears an able article on this all important question of compensation. The Bulletin says:

Aurora
Bulletin
against
confiscation

"The net result of the dry propaganda to date in the United States has been the virtual confiscation of business and property rights which were legally acquired and legally held, and in no other country save Russia, that glorious land of the sabre and knotted whip form of government, has our method of liquor legislation been used. Every other country of any standing has compensated to the fullest extent any business closed or restricted by law. Vodka in Russia is a vile crude beverage and was a government monopoly, and the government stopped its open manufacture but has not even-
tually stopped its secret manufacture.

"Switzerland, when it stopped the manufacture of absinthe, which has no medical properties whatsoever, compensated every manufacturer thereof and pensioned for five years every worker—even the daughters of farmers whose families had for generations been raising the vegetable from which absinthe was made were pensioned, thus making it possible for manufacturers to go into other lines of activities and helping the workers to get another start in another industry."

In this country we turn thousands of men and women out of occupations they have followed for years, at an age when they are unfitted to begin a new occupation.

Mrs. Ogden W. Dean, one of the most prominent woman workers in the prohibition cause in Chicago, beginning her career at the early age of 16 years as President of the Temperance Society of Iowa Falls, Iowa, said:

Mrs. Dean
opposes
confiscation

"I want the entire liquor traffic wiped out as completely and as soon as possible; but I think the Government should be fair to the men who have built up their business legally and from whom the Government has drawn such large revenues. The liquor interests should be fully compensated for its losses."

On February 3, 1909, Governor Malcolm R. Patterson of Tennessee vetoed Senate Bill No. 11, entitled, An Act to Prohibit the Manufacture in this State of Intoxicating Liquor for the Purpose of Sale. In his veto message, he said:

"The distillers and brewers of the State have been invited and encouraged to invest their capital in manufacturing plants and have done so in good faith under the protection of our laws. They have rights which should be protected—they have property which should not be destroyed.

"In the cities of Knoxville, Chattanooga, Nashville and Memphis, the establishment of breweries was encouraged by the commercial bodies, the people considered them as valuable acquisitions which increased values, gave employment to labor and added to business activities.

"The State itself has treated them, and the distillers, as other manufacturers and merchants, taxing them on

Governor
Patterson
vetoes
confiscatory
measure

their property and for their privileges, and has employed the revenue thus raised for the purpose of government.

"It proposes now to treat this class of her citizens as unworthy, to destroy their business without compensation, to deprive a portion of her laboring men of their livelihood, and to bring want to many families.

"If this is right, then the people make a mistake in electing me Governor, for I condemn it without reserve. And if it is wrong, the people made a mistake in electing you to the Legislature.

"The right to life, liberty and property is now recognized throughout the civilized world. It was inherent in man before organized society; it has never been denied except in case of war or public necessity; it has never been taken away by the hand of power without consummating a grievous wrong. Among the inalienable rights, that to property is sacred as the right to live and be free, and no government can exercise the power of destruction without injuring itself even more than the unhappy victims of its tyranny.

"In this case there is no redress in the courts to compel compensation, for it is the Act of the State, and, however bad the law may be, it must be acquiesced in, but the principle is obnoxious to every sense of fairness, to every idea of justice, to every legitimate function of government itself. And for this and other reasons I return this bill with my veto."

The question of compensation has been discussed in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Illinois and California.

At the session of the State legislature of Pennsylvania in 1915, two county bills were introduced, one by Representative Williams, supported by the Governor and the Anti-Saloon League; the other by Representative Jones, which contained a compensation clause, and strange to say had the hearty support of the late D. Clarence Gibboney, for many years the President of the Law and Order Society of Philadelphia and a most persistent foe of the liquor traffic.

Mr. Gibboney not only favored the compensation bill, but on April 15, 1915, appeared before the Law and Order Committee of the House in support of the Jones bill.

Mr. Gibboney minced no words in his opposition to the Williams bill. At the outset of his address, he said:

"Lest there be the slightest misapprehension as to my attitude let me say now that I am here to oppose this proposed Williams local option bill. That statement is reasonably emphatic. I will make it more so, and at the same time endeavor to be fair to all sides in this issue, by adding that within the limit of my ability and, whatever influence by all honorable means, I shall maintain and press that opposition with all the vigor and strength and tenacity of which I am capable. I regard the proposal as a bad law, an ineffective law, an unjust law. I look upon it, and label it now, as a subterfuge prescription for an ill for which a cure has been asked. And upon those grounds I shall oppose it."

The Committee, under the pressure of Governor Brumbaugh and the Anti-Saloon League, turned down the Jones Compensation Bill and reported the Williams State Local Option Bill to the House. This bill was subsequently defeated by a vote of 78 to 128.

In connection with this fight, the following article appeared in "The Outlook" of April, 1915. At that time this magazine was edited by former President Roosevelt:

"Mr. Gibboney advocates compensation on the lines followed by the Government of England and the Republic of Switzerland when reducing the number of public houses in Great Britain and abolishing the sale and manufacture of absinthe in the Swiss Republic. Why should anyone whose mind is built on honest lines oppose compensation?

"Nothing more clearly shows the ulterior purposes of those engaged in the alleged prohibition propaganda than this opposition to an honest solution of the question.

"The truth is the people behind this movement care nothing for temperance.

"The whole miserable sham is a church effort to obtain political control of the Government.

"The desire of those engaged in it is to break up and ruin financially the liberal cohorts of our country. Having crippled their liberal enemies financially, the rural preacher will be supreme.

"This fact is becoming every day more apparent. The real anti-foreign, know-nothing character of the movement is beginning to be discerned and understood.

Gibboney
urges
compensation
bill

"Any honest-minded individual will admit that if for half a century or more the State accepts a fee or tax for permitting such corporation to operate, a relation is established between such corporation and the State as would entitle the corporation to fair and just treatment.

"The State of Pennsylvania for more than a century of National life has authorized the incorporation of Transportation Companies and has permitted their operation in exchange for a fee or tax for the privilege.

"It began this with stage lines, extended it to railroads and later to trolley lines. If a small majority of the people of Pennsylvania should suddenly conclude that they prefer to walk rather than ride, would any one hold that the State Government of Pennsylvania would be doing equity and justice in abolishing such without compensation and prohibiting their operation? Anti-Saloon Leagues and prohibitionists should remember that even minorities have some rights.

"Whisky was sold in Pennsylvania certainly as far back as 1793, the date of the so-called whisky rebellion in that State. As a matter of fact, it was sold many years prior to that time.

"If the people by a small majority have suddenly concluded that they do not want to use liquors any longer, then there should be a just and equitable conclusion of existing conditions, and the only just conclusion on the question would be compensation to those who, without specific fault of their own, are refused a continuance of their life-long occupation.

"If the business was always the evil that it has been, then the State should have applied to itself the doctrine of 'caveat emptor' and refused from the beginning to license such business or derive an income from it.

"We deny that the business has ever ruined anybody. There are inebriates, weaklings and degenerates who will use anything and everything to damage themselves, and this is apparent and undeniable, but the blame belongs to the individual, not to the business.

"Are dealers in hardware who sell razors to be held accountable for the suicides who use razors with which to terminate their existence?

"Eminent medical authorities tell us that more people die from overeating than from excessive drinking, and

this statement is unquestionably true; but is food to be blamed, or are the vendors of food to be blamed for the individuals who 'Dig their graves with their teeth'?"

A close perusal of this interesting argument must convince every honest thinking man that sooner or later the conservative people of this country will insist upon some system of compensation. There is no doubt but what this important question is taking root in the public mind.

The San Jose Mercury, in an editorial, referring to the defeat of the California Compensation Law, says:

"The sense of plain justice is not very deeply rooted, if it exists at all, in the present legislature. On Wednesday, Assemblyman Bruck's proposed constitutional amendment requiring that compensation shall be paid to the owners of wineries, vineyards, or distilleries, prior to the enforcement of any laws which would seriously injure their continued operation, was defeated by a vote of forty-nine to twenty-eight. A reconsideration will be had, but it is doubtful if the opponents of the measure will give ground.

"It is an extraordinary situation in a highly refined State like California that the franchise may be used to destroy business which has been developed at large expense and under the impetus of State and National approval, without providing compensation for those injured. We cannot believe that people generally look with favor upon palpable injustice, nor that the legislators who voted against Bruck's bill were sincere in their attitude. They may have thought they were satisfying the sentiment of their districts and would be vindicated; but if they deliberately cast their votes regardless of their constituents and in defiance of the claims of equity, not one of them should be a legislator. Indeed, no man with unbridled prejudices should have to do with the passage of laws affecting the interests of all classes of people. When the cantons of Switzerland pass prohibition laws the injured are compensated, even employes being cared for by the government until readjustment has rendered them self-supporting. Can California afford to do less?

San Jose
Mercury
strongly
condemns
confiscation

"This is not a question of prohibition, but of simple justice. If the traffic is to be destroyed, and it looks like it, is it not the duty of State and Federal Governments which have approved and in some instances have subsidized the business, as well as using its revenues for governmental operation, to compensate those rudely bereft of livelihood, at least to do something by way of recompense for the loss of lifetime earnings and vast investments? Certainly the wine grape grower is not an outlaw; on the contrary, his business has enjoyed legal sanction, laws have been made for its protection, the State university has been given appropriation to assist in its development, and the grower has a right to expect the protection afforded to other industries. We cannot but believe that the defeat of compensation was a mistake, a serious error, a flagrant injustice. Better have left the subject alone and undiscussed than have it sent broadcast that California is prepared to suppress established enterprises without offer of compensation."

In the State Legislature of Illinois in 1915, Representative Trandel introduced H. B. 895, entitled, "AN ACT TO PROVIDE FOR COMPENSATION TO PERSONS INJURED BY REASON OF THE CREATION OF TERRITORY within which the manufacture, production, distribution and sale of intoxicating liquor shall be prohibited."

Senator Gorman introduced a similar bill in the Senate. Under the provision of these bills damages would be awarded by a jury through court action similar to condemnation proceedings when retail and wholesale liquor dealers and brewers, manufacturers of supplies are driven out of business under the Township Local Option laws.

The Rev. W. G. Robinson, a Baptist minister of St. Louis, formerly the superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of Missouri, and editor of the Golden Rule, advocated under date of May, 1915, says of the Illinois Compensation Bill:

"If any other bill more fair, equitable and human has been presented to any legislature, I have failed to see it."

Trandel
and
Gorman
of
Illinois
urge
compensation

Congressman Dyer of Missouri, on April 2, 1916, introduced H. B. 133 in the Sixty-fifth Congress, to compensate liquor dealers for their losses through prohibition. This bill was referred to the Appropriation Committee, with no action taken.

In the year 1916 the Swiss government prohibited the manufacture and sale of absinthe by an Act of the General Assembly of the Swiss confederacy. The Republic indemnified in an equitable manner not only the owners and leaseholders of absinthe distilleries, but likewise the owners and tenants of land on which absinthium was cultivated for the purpose of distillation, the employes and laborers of absinthe distilleries, and the laborers in the field.

When the French government prohibited the sale of absinthe, the Chamber of Deputies passed a bill appropriating \$2,900,000 to reimburse liquor dealers for their losses.

In Norway the Alcoholic Commission, in urging that certain private liquor selling rights be taken over by the government, fully endorsed the principle of compensation in recommending that the owner of these rights be adequately reimbursed.

President Lincoln advocated an appropriation of four hundred million dollars to pay the slave owners of the South. It was hatred of the southern people and not a sense of justice that caused Lincoln's Cabinet to vote against him on this question.

The men who owned slaves did not give any part of their earnings to the Government. Lincoln did not issue the proclamation which confiscated their property until he had warned them that they were in arms against the Government, and that he would take such action if they did not surrender and take the oath of allegiance to the Union.

No intelligent citizen would cite as a precedent the confiscation of the property of the slave owner, as a justification for the confiscation of the property of the liquor dealer. The liquor dealer was a loyal supporter of the Government. Many thousands of his sons responded to his country's call to arms. He gave a greater part of the profits of his business to the Government than any other man of business who owes allegiance to the flag.

Switzerland,
France,
Norway
favor
compensation

Lincoln
opposed
confiscation
of property
in slaves

Maharajah
of Nepal
favors
compensation

It would be a herculean task to find amongst civilized men a condition that it would be harder to justify or defend than the institution of slavery. One would think that if there were any property rights in the world that might with justice be flouted it would be property in human beings—men and women. And yet when the Maharajah of Nepal on February 6, 1925, announced his intention to abolish slavery in the Raj he solemnly assured every slave owner within his dominion that they would be compensated for their property losses.

England
does not
confiscate

When England abolished slavery in 1833, the government paid every slave owner in the Empire for the loss sustained.

At the present time, when England closes a saloon, the government pays the landlord for his property depreciation, and the tenant for his stock and fixtures.

Ireland
upholds
property
rights

Recently, when the question of prohibition for the Free State of Ireland was suggested to Premier Cosgrove, he remarked, "It cannot be done unless we compensate those now engaged in the business, and we have not enough money to do so." That settled the question.

The sterling honesty and honor of the public men who now guide this new nation would not let Ireland do what the United States has done. It would not permit the destruction of private property ostensibly for the public good without compensation.

Oregon
statute
forewarns of
danger of
communistic
laws

That the principle of confiscatory prohibition, when incorporated into our constitution and statutes, is fraught with great danger to all citizens who own lawfully acquired property, and may lead to further infringement on our supposed inalienable rights to life, liberty and property, is shown by the Oregon amendment to the State constitution, which virtually confiscated the school property owned by many good citizens who were members of the minority religious sects of that State.

Labor leader
opposes
confiscation

Philip Snowden, a Socialist member of the English House of Commons, said, "The capitalist system in England has failed and must go, but we do not propose a revolution, and we shall always resent any proposal of confiscation, which is a certain way to disaster."

Judge Van Orsdel said, "The tendency of the times to socialize property rights, under the subterfuge of police regulation, is dangerous and if continued will prove destructive of our free institutions. It should be remembered that of the three fundamental principles which underlie government, and for which government exists—the protection of life, liberty and property—the chief of these is property—not that any amount of property is more valuable than the life or liberty of the citizen, but the history of civilization proves that when the citizen is deprived of the free use and enjoyment of his property, anarchy and revolution follow, and life and liberty are without protection."

Judge
Van Orsdel
warns of the
danger of
confiscation

In an address to members of the convention of the "Holy Name Society" at the City of Washington, President Coolidge solemnly declared that "civil, political and religious liberty were fundamental rights that were adequately and completely guaranteed to all citizens." He further declared, "The American Government was pledged to protect the rights of property," and that "socialism and communism cannot be reconciled with the principles which our institutions represent."

The Eighteenth Amendment is socialistic and communistic. If the President is sincere and consistent he will certainly be in favor of compensating those who were robbed of their property by the lawmakers who voted for that amendment.

Coolidge,
Penrose,
George
urge
respect
for
property
rights

Senator Penrose said, "If the country permits Congress to deal in moral dishonesty with questions of general import, it will introduce something into national life which will be quite as deleterious as the use of alcoholic beverages."

Henry George said, "The business of government is not to make men virtuous or religious, or to preserve the fool from the consequences of his folly. It is to secure liberty by protecting the equal rights of each from aggression on the part of others."

If one class of citizens can be deprived of their legitimately acquired and legitimately owned property in order that life may be made better for the propertyless proletariat, why not invest this unfortunate person with the power to confiscate the property of any other class of citizens, in order to further promote the welfare of himself, his wife and his children?

St. Basil said, "The rich man is a thief."
St. Chrysostom said, "The rich are robbers; better all things in common."

St. Clement said, "Iniquity alone has created private property."

St. Paul said, "If any will not work, neither let him eat."

St. Ambrose said, "It is the bread of the hungry thou keepest; it is the clothing of the naked thou lockest up; the money thou hast buried is the redemption of the poor."

St. Ambrose also said, "Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation."

St. Jerome said, "Opulence is always the product of theft committed, if not by the actual possessor, then by his ancestors." (William murdered the native English land-owners in 1066 and robbed the people of their land. When does the title to land so acquired become good?)

Tolstoy said, "The rich will do everything for the poor, except to get off their backs."

Lenin said, "Let none have cake until all have bread." (There was nothing saintly about Lenin, but his bitterest enemy never said that he would, if he could, use corporate and political power to rob a poor family of ten dollars, by extorting a price of sixteen dollars for a ton of coal that, under strictly competitive conditions, would not cost this family more than six dollars for a ton.)

When he finds that the land monopolist did "join house to house," and "field to field," in order that he—the propertyless man—might "be placed alone in the midst of the land," will you deny to him the right to his "dominion over all of the earth," and "every creeping thing upon it?"

But the landless citizen need not confine his authority to mortal men if he desires to offer a justification for a determination to confiscate property in land. He may invoke the very words of the Almighty Himself. According to Leviticus, Chapter 25, Verse 23, God said to Moses on Mount Sinai: "The land shall not be sold forever (in perpetuity) for the land is mine: for ye are strangers and sojourners with me."

We believe that all men who are not animated with the spirit of fanaticism will readily sense the justice of our plea.

In view of the foregoing facts, precedents and authorities quoted, we ask that the Congress of the United States give due consideration to the important question of complying with the Fifth Amendment to our Constitution and compensating those distillers, brewers and liquor dealers whose legally acquired property values have been arbitrarily destroyed.

We would ask that your Honorable Body ascertain from the Internal Revenue Department the approximate value of the property that has been destroyed by the enactment and enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

We are not suppliants, asking Congress for free gifts. We do not expect Congress to gratuitously present us with large areas of land, valuable oil reservations or great natural power sites. We are asking for compensation for the actual value of property which we honestly acquired and legally owned and the values of which we were arbitrarily deprived by your predecessors.

RETAIL MALT BEVERAGE DEALERS' ASSOCIATION OF ILLINOIS.

Ernest Kunde, President.
M. J. McCarthy, Secretary.

Robert J. Halle,
John W. Maskell
John Link,
John D. Curtin,
Vlad J. Moravec, } Committee.

Pay the
liquor men
for actual
property
losses

A radical
majority
might
justify
confiscation

Confiscation
of land
might be
supported by
fundamen-
talists

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Liège (Belgium)

International Exhibition of
the Industries, Pure...

Liège

[1928?]

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tries, concerns, professions and organisations
concerned. Special exhibitions: Music, agricul-
ture, pavilion of the feminine interests. Liège
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Through the President's Office

CENTENARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM

9.24.28

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

OF THE INDUSTRIES, PURE
SCIENCE AND APPLIED
SCIENCE, OLD WALLOON ART

OFFICIALLY SUPPORTED BY THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT

LIÉGE 1930

Specification of the Industries, Concerns,
Professions and Organisations concerned

308

Z

SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS :

Box 241

Music, Agriculture, Pavilion of the Feminine Interests

OFFICES : 4, Place Saint-Lambert, Liège (Belgium)

CENTENARY OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF BELGIUM

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION

OF THE INDUSTRIES, PURE
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Professions and Organisations concerned

SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS :

Music, Agriculture, Pavilion of the Feminine Interests

OFFICES : 4, Place Saint-Lambert, Liège (Belgium)

*Under the high patronage of their
Majesties the King and Queen
of Belgians.*

*Under the Presidency of honour
of their Graces the Duke and
Duchess of Brabant.*

Nec Dec. 12, 1929

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Centenary of the Independence of Belgium

LIÈGE 1930

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION
OF THE INDUSTRIES, PURE
SCIENCE AND APPLIED
SCIENCE, OLD WALLOON ART

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**A. - Pure and Applied Science Section****GROUP 1.****Applied Mathematics**

In this group will be shown all the processes, instruments and apparatuses of investigation, of measure, of demonstration and of application utilized in :

A. — CALCULATION and particularly in everything relating to :

a) *Arithmetic*, namely :

1. Calculating machines (printing or non-printing, electrical or non-electrical).

Examples : Adding, subtracting, multiplying and dividing machines.

Automatic cash registering machines, book-keeping machines, machines for the calculation of discrepancies (application of the calculation of discrepancies).

2. Logarithmic instruments : slide rules, logarithmic scales, etc.

3. Plinths.

b) *Algebra* : equation solving and miscellaneous machines.

c) *Geometry*.

Usual, namely : models of surfaces, volumes, etc.

Analytical and drawing.

Examples : rules, set squares, plane tables, drawing boards, instruments used in tracing parallels, dotter compasses of all kinds, protractors; drawing machines (pantographs etc.); machines for dividing straight lines, circles, etc., miscellaneous instruments.

N. B. — *The instances given as examples have of course no limitative meaning.*

d) Calculation of probabilities : all methods, systems, and games having at their basis the calculation of probabilities.— Games of luck.

B. — TOPOGRAPHY AND SURVEYING, and namely :

a) Instruments used in the measuring of distances :

1. direct measurements : podometers, chains, tapes, rulers.

2. optical measurements : tacheometers, tachymeters, telemeters.

b) Instruments used in the measuring of angles : set squares, pantometers, plane tables, mariner's compasses, goniometers, theodolites, etc.;

c) Instruments used in the measuring of altitudes : altimeters, portable hypsometers and barometers, mirror levels, collimating levels, eclimeters, telescopic levels etc.;

d) Accessories : surveying staves, sighting instruments.;

e) Instruments used in aerial topography.

C. — GEODESY and namely :

Instruments for the exact measuring of bases : rulers, wires, etc.;

Land surveying theodolites;

Signals, heliotropes, projectors, etc.;

Instruments used in exact levelling;

Gravity pendulums;

Torsion scales, etc.

D. — COSMOGRAPHY.

Examples : Planispheres, astrolabes, terrestrial and celestial globes, planetaries.

E. — TERRESTRIAL MAGNETISM.

Examples : Magnetometers, inductors, magnetical theodolites, inclination compasses, etc.

F. — SISMOLOGY.

Example : Sismographs, etc.

G. — ASTRONOMY and namely :

Altazimuths, transition instruments, meridian glasses, zenithal telescopes, astrolabes, etc.;

Reflectors and refractors;

Photographic apparatus used in astronomy;

Spectroscopic and spectrographic apparatus used in astronomy;

Photometric apparatus used in astronomy ;

Comet searchers;

Time measuring apparatus, clocks, chronometers, chronographs, instruments for recording time by wireless.

Miscellaneous astronomical apparatus.

H. — METEORIOLOGY and namely :

Barometers, thermometers, hygrometers, pluviometers apparatus used to determine and measure the speed, direction and pressure of winds, etc.

GROUP 2.

Physics

The physics group comprises the processes, the apparatus and the instruments of study, research, or application of the laws of Physics. It will prove to be of interest to laboratories, inventors, manufacturers and merchants.

A. — PHYSICS OF THE PONDERABLE and namely all apparatus and instruments of research and application of the laws of :

a) Statics of ponderous bodies namely, levers, equilibriums, densimeters, aerometers, barometers, manometers, etc.;

b) *Dynamics of ponderous bodies* namely: pendulums, gyroscopes, instruments of ballistic, etc.

c) *Internal equilibrium of compounds or bodies* namely: thermometers, pyrometers, calorimeters, vacuum machines, planishers, aeromotors, Claude machines, hygrometers, apparatus for the study or application of liquid gases, etc.

d) *Sound*: namely apparatus for measuring and studying the height, the propagation, the reflection and the refraction of sounds and of ultra sounds, etc. Apparatus used in the detection of phenomenon by means of sound.

Instruments for sounding and reconnoitring by means of sound, etc.

B. — PHYSICS OF ELECTRICITY AND MAGNETISM and namely all apparatus and instruments relating to:

a) *Magnetism*:

Examples: magnets, compasses, magnetometers, etc.

b) *Electrostatics*:

Examples: electrosopes, condensers, lightning conductors, electrostatic machines.

c) *Electrodynamics and electromagnetism*:

Examples: cells, accumulators, induction spools, electro magnets, microphones, electric bells, telephone and telegraphic instruments, electrical ovens for laboratories; Apparatus used in electrolysis and galvanoplasty, Crookes tubes, mercury arc lamps, speaking arcs, all apparatus used in photo electricity, etc.

C. — PHYSICS OF THE IMPONDERABLE and namely: all apparatus used in studying, discovering and applying:

a) *Herzian Waves*.

Examples: All apparatus used in wireless.

N. B. — All wireless apparatuses will be shown in a separate pavilion.

b) *Heat Waves*:

Examples: radiating heating-apparatuses. Apparatus used in the detection of phenomenon by means of heat waves.

c) *Light Waves*:

Examples: all light producing apparatus, all instruments used in photometry. All apparatus for the study and application of the reflection and refraction of light: mirrors, lenses, microscopes and ultra microscopes, spectrosopes, polarimeters, etc. Magic lanterns and cinematographs. Apparatus used in the detection of phenomenon by means of light waves.

d) *Chemical Waves*:

Examples: all apparatus used in photography, photomicrography, chromography, radio chemistry, All apparatus worked by means of the utilisation of ultra violet rays.

e) *X Rays and γ Rays*:

Examples: Coolidge tubes, all apparatus used in the study or application of X rays.

GROUP 3.

Chemistry

The chemistry group will prove to be of interest to scientists, laboratories, inventors, manufacturers, and merchants.

This group comprises:

A. — All apparatus and instruments for investigating studying and demonstrating used in the research and study of the chemical properties of bodies and of the laws of physical, general, inorganic, and organic chemistry.

Examples: distillation apparatuses, ovens, laboratory furnaces, distillation flasks, retorts, etc.

B. — Instruments and apparatus used in qualitative and quantitative chemical analysis.

Examples : Pipettes, burettes, flasks, gazovolumeters, colorimeters, densimeters, furnaces, ovens, etc.

C. — The manufacture of chemical reagents, pure chemical compounds and pharmaceutical compounds.

D. — All the chemical apparatus, chemical products, and applications of chemistry used in or produced by the different industries.

GROUP 4.

Mineralogy

In this group, the scientists, the laboratories, the inventors, the manufacturers, and the merchants will show all the processes, instruments and apparatus for investigating, measuring and demonstrating used in the study, firstly, of the properties of mineral matters, secondly, of the laws of the sciences given hereunder, thirdly of the samples connected with the said sciences, fourthly, of the applications of the properties and laws referred to hereabove to the well-being progress and activity of mankind.

A. — CRYSTALLOGRAPHY and namely :

- a) the different crystallographic forms and systems;
- b) all scientific apparatus used in crystallography;

Examples : goniometers, microscopes, polarimeters refractometers, and all accessories.

- c) the collections of natural and artificial crystals;
- d) the processes of production and utilisation of natural or artificial crystallised bodies.

- Examples* : 1. Rubis and topazes used in watchmaking.
 2. Spinel used in clock making.
 3. Quartz used in optical work and in crystal making,
 4. Galena used in wireless.
 5. Fluorspar etc. used as ornamental stones.
 6. Different uses of crystals.

B. — MINERALOGY AND PETROGRAPHY and namely :

a) the collections of mineralogy and petrography, samples of different ores and rocks (copper, zinc, lead ores, etc.) radioactive ores, etc. marbles, sandstone, limestone, granite, porphyry, etc.;

b) the specimens of thin blades and all apparatus used in the polishing of ores and rocks, also all apparatus used in the making of the thin blades.

c) all apparatus and accessories used in radiophotography and in the application of X rays to the study of ores.

d) all other apparatus and processes used in mineralogy and petrography (metallographical benches, etc.).

e) The processes of utilization of ore for the comfort, well being and progress of mankind.

- Examples* : 1. Talc as used in perfumery, for greasing, for polishing.
 2. emeri as used in the making of abrasive compounds.
 3. Plumbago as used in greasing etc.

C. — PALEONTOLOGY AND SCIENCES CONNECTED WITH IT and namely :

a) the methods, processes, instruments and apparatus used in the study of Paleontology.

Examples : magnifying glasses, microscopes, etc.

b) the demonstrations by means of maps, plans, samples of the help given by Paleontology in elucidating the history of the earth and in finding useful raw materials for mankind

- c) original and reproduced samples of Paleontology;
- d) the applications of Paleontology to the comfort and activity of mankind.

D. — GEOLOGY and namely :

- a) *Laboratory apparatus* : microscopes, ovens, furnaces, etc. Processes and apparatus for separating solid bodies by means of liquids of high density.

Miscellaneous processes and apparatus.

b) *Apparatuses and instruments used in prospection* :

- Examples* :
1. Barometers, Thermometers, portable sounding instruments.
 2. Mineralogical outfits.
 3. Apparatus and processes of geophysical prospection and namely : apparatus and processes based on :
 - a) the Laws of Electricity;
 - b) the differences of density;
 - c) the Laws of Magnetism.
 4. Instruments and processes of aerial prospection.
 5. Measuring Instruments : podometers, telemeters and other instruments mentioned in Group 1 "Topography".
 6. Prospectors outfits : personal equipment, tents, pharmaceutical outfits, etc.

E. — HYDROLOGY and namely :

Apparatus and methods for the discovering of subterranean lakes or seas.

Apparatus and methods of sounding.

Apparatus and methods for the installation of water captages.

Apparatus and methods for gauging the height of a river and the volume of water flowing in it.

N. B. — A certain number of these apparatuses may be more conveniently placed in Group 9 "Extractive Industries".

GROUP 5.

Industrial science

In this group will be classified all the processes, instruments, apparatus and machinery used in testing stations and in research or industrial laboratories, the aim of these being to discover, note and measure the qualities and defects of the reagents and raw materials used or produced by :

A. — THE EXTRACTIVE INDUSTRIES.

Examples : a) all apparatus and methods of chemical analysis of coal, lignite, petroleum, etc.

b) all apparatus and methods of testing and discovering the physical properties of the materials extracted from mines, and quarries (test by crushing).

B. — CIVIL ENGINEERING and namely :

a) the instruments for testing the resistance of materials, to pressure, traction, shocks, wear and tear, etc.;

b) apparatus and methods of special tests applied to concrete.

Examples : measurement of the expansion of concrete, adherence tests, homogeneity tests, measurement of the consistency, the incombustibility, permeability, the resistance to frost... of concrete, etc.

c) apparatus and methods for measuring the beams and the "sagging" of bridges, etc.

d) all apparatus used by the schools and laboratories of road technique : experimental tracks, road measuring apparatus (measurement of the dynamic effects of traffic, measurement of the wear and tear of ruts);

e) samples of miscellaneous materials showing certain faults such as cracks due to contraction, expansion, frost, fire, etc.

f) Results of tests.

C. — STEEL AND IRON INDUSTRY AND ENGINEERING and namely :

1. all apparatus and methods of testing :

a) *technological*.

Examples : machines invented with the aim of making tests in the works themselves and provided with recording instruments making it possible to study the deformations of the metal whilst it is being worked.
All apparatus relative to photoelasticity, etc.

b) *Mechanical*.

Examples : machines to carry out the tests of traction, compression, torsion, flexibility, hardness, etc., stroboscopic methods, etc.

c) *Chemical* : for the analysis of steels and miscellaneous alloys.

Examples : apparatus and methods of sampling and quantitatively analysing : Si, Mn, P, Cu, Co, Cr, Mo, Va, Ti, Al;
Apparatus and methods of quantitatively analysing by combustion, C, S, As, N, O, etc.

d) *Metallographical* :

Examples : Methods of dry or wet polishing, optical instruments used in metallography.
Photographical, spectrographical and radiographical methods and apparatuses.

e) *Miscellaneous* :

Examples : apparatus and methods of determining the electrical resistance, the magnetic properties, of steels and other alloys;
apparatus for the thermal study of steels and other alloys (determining of the points of transformation) etc.

2. Miscellaneous samples and results of tests.

D. — ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY.

All apparatus, equipment, laboratory processes, used by electrical engineering works, power stations, and by works manufacturing goods used in electricity.

Results of tests and samples.

E. — CHEMICAL, GLASS AND SUGAR INDUSTRIES.

All apparatus, equipment and laboratory processes :

1. of works manufacturing chemicals;
2. of glass works, crystal works, plate glass works;
3. of Sugar and refining sugar factories.

Results of tests, samples.

D. — TEXTILE INDUSTRY.

All apparatus, equipment and laboratory processes of works manufacturing textile goods.

Results of tests.

E. — MISCELLANEOUS ART INDUSTRIES.

All apparatus, equipment and laboratory processes of works manufacturing decorative and artistic goods.

GROUP 6.

Medicine and Surgery

This group will prove to be of interest to scientists, inventors, doctors, universities, laboratories, manufacturers and merchants of apparatus, processes, methods and chemicals used in medicine, surgery and pharmacy.

In this group will be shown :

A. — The methods, processes, instruments and apparatus used to find out the causes, to discover, characterize, follow and measure the affections, (whether medical or surgical) of mankind and their consequences.

Examples : microscopes, ovens, recording apparatus, radiosopic and ultra violet rays apparatus.

B. — The methods, processes, instruments and apparatus used to prevent, attenuate, decrease and cure these same affections.

Results.

Examples : microbic vaccines, therapeutic serums, mechanical therapy, electrotherapy, chemotherapy, **proteino**-therapy.

Treatment of diseases by X rays, radium, etc.

All medicines and apparatus, etc.

C. — The installations, processes, instruments, apparatus, scientific machinery contained in the clinics or laboratories in which research and practice of medicine and surgery, including dentistry, take place.

Examples : Installations, processes, instruments etc. scientific machinery of dispensaries and clinics against every kind of illness also hospitals, lazarets, isolation pavillions, air cures, childrens' welfare centres, etc. Material etc. used by the Red Cross, etc.

D. — More specially, the installations, accomodations, scientific apparatus contained in clinics, belonging to big works.

Examples : Installations, accomodation of clinics against professional diseases, of works baby's centres, of hospitals for works accidents, of first aid stations, etc.

GROUP 7.

Technical Training

This group will prove of interest to professional schools, etc.

Their programmes, methods, equipment and work produced will be shown in this group.

GROUP 8.

Scientific Training

This group will prove of interest to the great scientific schools, to the Faculties of Science, Technology and Medicine of Universities, to the industrial associations, to the big laboratories and scientific institutions.

In this group will be shown the programmes, methods, equipment, etc., of all these organizations.

GENERAL REMARKS. — *The Executive Committee insists particularly on its wish that the Exhibition be animated and of educational value.*

With this aim in view, the apparatus should be actually worked as frequently as possible and the result of the work shown at the side of the apparatus.

The Executive Committee will do all in its power to facilitate the working of the materials exposed.



B. - Industries Section

GROUP 9.

Extractive Industries

The group of Extractive Industries comprises all concerns extracting or making the following :

- a) Fuels : peat, lignite, coal, petroleum, combustible gases.
- b) Ores of iron, zinc, copper, lead, aluminium, manganese, cadmium, nickel, silver, gold, mercury, antimony, tin, molybdenum, tungsten, vanadium, also rare and precious metals.
- c) Non-metallic ores : pyrites, sulphur, arsenic.
- d) Rocks : sandstones, limestones, dolomites, marbles, slates, schistes, porphyries, flints, jaspers, sharpening stones, grindstones, pumice stones, gypsum, etc.
- e) Movable materials : sands, gravels, clays, marls, kaolins, plastic earths, bauxites.
- f) Bituminous and asphaltic materials : bituminous shales, asphalts, etc.
- g) Salts : rocksalts, salts from mineral springs, chlorides, nitrates, sulphates, alums, borax, boric acid and other salts.
- h) Natural mineral manures (example, phosphates) and other natural mineral compounds used as manures.
- i) Precious stones and ornamental stones.
- j) Special natural mineral compounds; asbestos, amber, graphite, plumbago, mineral wax, yellow amber, mica, mineral colours, fossilized compounds of animal or vegetable origin (fossilized guanos, woods, resins and ivories, etc.).

N. B. — *The instances given as examples have of course no limitative meaning.*

κ) Natural waters (drinking, mineral, gaseous and industrial waters).

λ) Natural gases.

A. — ALL METHODS, APPARATUS, MATERIALS, PRODUCTS AND THE USE OF THE PRODUCTS, USED OR MADE BY SUCH INSTALLATIONS AS ARE GIVEN HEREUNDER and namely :

a) tools, apparatus, and machinery used in boring and sounding.

b) tools, apparatus and machinery used in the ramming down of stakes, shaft timbering, and all work necessitated by the making of mine shafts.

c) tools, apparatus and machinery used in the opening out and equipping of galleries, roadways and works yards.

d) tools, apparatus and machinery used in the felling of trees and exploitations of forests.

e) tools, apparatus, and machinery used in the transport of products and by-products in forests, works yards, galleries and shafts.

f) tools, apparatus and machinery used for embanking and supporting walls, bridges, etc.

g) tools, apparatus, and machinery, used in the transport of the employees.

h) tools, apparatus, and machinery used for draining, ventilating or cooling purposes.

i) tools, apparatus, and machinery used for lighting purposes.

j) Storing and manipulation of material used in the setting off of explosives.

κ) tools, methods, apparatus and machinery used to find out and fight against inconveniences, dangers, and accidents, and their consequences, (life saving and safety apparatuses).

l) tools, apparatus and machinery for the captng, the canalizing, and the drawing up of water (drinking, mineral, gaseous, industrial or town waters).

m) products of the above installations.

B. — ALL PROCESSES, MACHINERY AND APPARATUS USED IN THE NON CHEMICAL TREATMENT OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE INSTALLATIONS MENTIONED HEREBOWE and namely :

a) tools machinery and apparatus for the transport, the handling and the storing of products or byproducts (raw or refined) of residues, of rubbish etc. (examples : pit hills, slag heaps).

b) tools, machinery and apparatus used in the washing, the crushing, the sifting, the setsage, the flattening, the classifying, the drying, the purifying and generally speaking in the treatment of the products of the installations mentioned hereabove.

c) tools, apparatus and machinery used in the agglomerating of ores and combustible minerals.

d) tools, apparatus and machinery used in the warehousing, the distribution and the utilization of waters (drinking, mineral, gaseous, industrial and town waters).

C. — PLANS AND MODELS OF HOUSES AND BUILDINGS USED IN THE AFOREMENTIONED INSTALLATIONS INCLUDING MACHINERY AND FURNITURE. BUILDINGS WITH MACHINERY AND EQUIPMENT USED IN CONNECTION WITH THESE INDUSTRIES : BATHS, WASH HOUSES, DORMITORIES, STABLES, W. C.s, etc.

GROUP 10.

Metallurgy

The metallurgy group comprises the methods, apparatus, machinery and products of :

A. — THE METALLURGY OF IRON.

a) blast furnaces and other cast iron producing plants, steel works, (crucible steel, high speed steel, steel made by the open hearth process or the electrical furnace process) rolling mills.

b) steel and cast iron foundries, special cast irons. Art cast irons, stove making works.

c) manufacture and uses of all special steels (steels of all kinds).

d) manufacture of all iron alloys (spiegel, ferromanganese, etc.).

e) stamping works, forges, boiler works.

f) hoopmaking works, axle works, metallic sheets works, tube making works, etc.

g) constructional engineering works (bridges, steel frame works).

h) Nuts, bolts and rivets works.

i) chain works, smithies.

j) wire drawing works, nail making works, screw making works, barbed wire, metallic trellis making works, etc.

k) ironmongery, hardware, locksmith trade, cutlery, edge tool making, safes, etc.

l) small iron industry, capsules, buckles, buttons, metallic pen knives, needles, pins, etc.

B. — THE METALLURGY OF METALS OTHER THAN IRON.

a) Works producing, treating or manufacturing all metals: zinc, lead, copper, tin, nickel, silver, gold, platinum, aluminium, mercury, cadmium, tungsten, molybdenum, vanadium, etc.

Metallurgical, chemical, electrochemical and thermal processes for the production and refining of metals.

N. B. — The electrochemical processes, will be more opportunely shown in the Electricity group.

b) Galvanising works, tinning works, enamelling works, lead coating, copper coating, silver coating, gold coating works, industry of all metallic coatings and coverings in general.

N. B. — The production of metals by means of electricity will be shown in a special section of the electricity group (Group 13).

Examples : nickelplating, utilization of chromium and cobalt, and generally speaking galvanoplasty. The products will however, be shown in the Metallurgy Group.

c) Manufacture and treatment of all non-ferrous alloys.

Examples : bronze, brass.

C. — WORKS MANUFACTURING THE REFRACTORY AND THE SPECIALLY PROTECTING COMPOUNDS USED IN METALLURGY and namely : all usual refractory compounds : limestones dolomites, chromites, magnesia, synthetic refractory compounds (carborundum, etc.) graphites, antirust compounds, protecting paints and coverings.

D. — WORKS AND BY PRODUCT PLANTS TREATING OR MANUFACTURING THE BY PRODUCTS OF THE METALLURGICAL INDUSTRIES and namely : slag cements, slag bricks, dross bricks, clinker bricks, Thomas slag.

E. — BUILDINGS AND HOUSES WITH MACHINERY, FURNITURE, AND EQUIPMENT USED IN METALLURGY NOT ONLY IN CONNECTION WITH ITS ESSENTIAL AIMS, BUT ALSO IN CONNECTION WITH ITS SUBSIDIARY NEEDS : offices, baths, wash houses, dormitories, refectories, W. Cs, etc.

F. — PLANS, STATISTICS, MAPS AND DOCUMENTS.

GROUP II.

Engineering

The engineering section comprises all the industries producing the following materials, apparatuses, machinery and accessories.

A. — GENERATORS OF MOTIVE POWER.

a) for steam engines :

1. Boilers, fireboxes, chimneys. All accessories.
2. Water purifiers, Preheaters, and Superheaters, Recuperators, Condensers, etc. All accessories.
3. Water mains, steam mains and canalizations. All accessories.

4. Steam tanks.

5. Safety instruments of all kinds.

b) for gas engines :

Miscellaneous gas producing plants and all accessories.

c) for compressed air or gas engines :

Compressors, tanks and all accessories.

d) for hydraulic engines.

Hydraulic pumps, hydraulic accumulators. All accessories.

B. — ENGINES.

a) steam engines (with pistons or with turbines) :

All accessory apparatuses.

b) fuel oil, petroleum, benzine, benzol, alcohol, Diesel oil engines, etc. All accessories.

c) gas engines : rich gas, coal gas, water gas, wood charcoal gas and others.

d) hydraulic engines : (wheels, turbines, etc. all accessories).

e) compressed air or gas engines : all accessory machinery.

f) thermal engines, solar engines, engines to utilise the energy of tides, of winds, etc.

C. — TRANSMISSION AND TRANSPORT OF MOTIVE POWER.

a) piping, canalizations and all accessories.

b) all mediums of mechanical transmission (shafts pulleys, cogwheels, etc. all accessory machinery).

D. — ALL TOOLS. MACHINERY, AND ACCESSORIES USED IN :

a) the machine working of metals.

b) the machine working of wood : in saw mills, in box making mills, in barrel making mills, in barge or ship making yards, in the sculpting or engineering of wood, in wheel wrights shops, in coach building works, in furniture making mills, etc.

c) the machine working of all other materials, (fibres, ebonite, celluloid, etc.).

E. — TOOLS GENERALLY USED IN ENGINEERING.

a) Machines, tools, and installations, used in the manipulation, the transport or the warehousing of products.

b) machines, tools, apparatuses, and installations used in the heating, the lighting, the ventilating, the cleaning and the disinfection of workshops.

c) machines, tools, and installations, used for the weighing the measuring, the counting, the distribution, the packing, etc., of pieces and products.

F. ALL TOOLS, MACHINES, MATERIALS, APPARATUSES, AND ACCESSORIES, produced by the engineering industry to be used in the :

a) ice making and cold storage industry;

b) extractive and related industries;

c) metallurgical industries;

d) electrical industries;

e) chemical industries;

f) ceramic industries;

g) glass industry;

h) sugar industry;

i) textile industries;

j) small arms and munitions industries;

k) civil engineering industry;

l) transport industry;

m) leather; hides and related industries;

n) domestic services (examples : sewing machines, etc., washing machines, etc.);

o) foodstuffs industries : miller's trade, bakeries, confectioneries, sweets making, chocolate factories, the manufacture of fecula, of glucose, of starch, tinned foods, distilleries, brewing, vinegar making, malt making, soap making, etc.

p) treatment and manufacture of tobacco, cigars, cigarettes, and all smoker requisites;

q) printing and related industries (typewriters, dictaphones, multiplying and statistical machines);

r) manufacture of agricultural implements, etc.

N. B. — The objects connected with paragraphs "a to r" will be shown, more opportunely in the corresponding groups of the Official Programme, those in paragraph R. will be shown specially in the Agricultural Exhibition (see programme of special exhibitions).

GROUP 12.

Small Arms

In this group will be found.

A. — THE TOOLS AND MACHINERY USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF SMALL ARMS : machines used in making rifle

barrels, etc., special lathes, boring machines, gun boring machines, machines used in making the wooden stocks of rifles, plaiting machines, machines used in the reproduction of the different metallic parts of guns, polishing machines, machines used in the correction of parts made of tempered steel.

B. — SMALL ARMS :

a) Side arms, namely : bows, crossbows, broad swords daggers, foils, clubs, etc.

All accessories.

b) Fire arms : war, hunting, sporting, and other arms

Examples: All kinds of rifles, carbines, pistols, revolvers, All armament and gunsmithery accessories.

N. B. — There will be also a retrospective exhibition of small arms.

C. — TOOLS AND MACHINES USED IN THE MANUFACTURE OF CARTRIDGES AND MUNITIONS.

D. — MUNITIONS : projectiles, explosives, percussion, caps, primings, cartridges, fuses, etc.

GROUP 13.

Electricity

The electricity group comprises all the industries producing the materials, apparatuses, machines, tools, and accessories used in :

A. — THE PRODUCTION AND THE STORING OF ELECTRICAL ENERGY and namely :

a) The electrical generators : magnetos, dynamos, alternators, etc.

b) cells, accumulators, etc.

c) Condensers.

B. — THE TRANSMISSION OF ELECTRIC CURRENTS and namely : materials, processes, apparatus and machinery used in the laying of interior, aerial, underground, or submarine cables or lines.

Examples : cables, isolating material and isolators, junction boxes, etc.

C. — THE TRANSFORMATION OF CURRENTS :

a) Transformers of all kinds;

b) Switches and switchboards of all kinds;

c) Dynamo-engine units of all kinds;

d) Current rectifiers : mercury and other rectifiers.

D. — THE APPLICATIONS OF ELECTRICITY TO :

a) *Engineering :*

1. Electric motors of all kinds;

2. General machinery.

Examples : winches, lifts, rolling bridges, etc.

b) *Metallurgy :*

1. Electric furnaces of all kinds;

2. Electrolytic processes used in the treatment of ores and the production and refining of metals;

3. Electrolytic processes used in galvanoplasty (nickel plating, chroming, cobalting, silver and gold plating, etc.).

c) *Chemistry :*

1. electric furnaces of all kinds;

Examples : furnaces used in connection with the manufacture of calcium carbide, carborundum, etc.

2. electrolytic processes of all kinds;

3. all apparatus producing electric arcs, etc.;

4. electrical processes for the purification of water.

d) Means of Transport :

1. locomotives, trams, trains, electric cars, etc.;
2. electrical signalisation, and safety devices, used in connection with railways or road transport.

N. B. — Some apparatuses (paragraph *d*) will be more opportunely classified in the Transport and Civil engineering section.

e) Lighting :

1. Arc lamps, vacuum and gas filled lamps, neon lamps, etc.;
2. special machinery and installations for projectors, sign advertising, etc.

f) domestic uses : heating apparatuses (stoves, cookers), laundry irons;
vacuum cleaners and electric polishers, etc.
refrigerating apparatuses;
miscellaneous.

g) telephony, telegraphy, television, telemechanics, applications of microphonic instruments.

N. B. — The wireless apparatuses and tools will be shown in a separate Pavillion.

h) medicine.

N. B. — The instruments coming under this heading will be shown in Group 6, " Medical Sciences ".

E. — METHODS OF DISTRIBUTION, CONTROL AND MEASURING OF ELECTRICITY :

- a) Instruments and apparatus used in indicating, recording or verifying;*
- b) Electric switch-boards and accessories;*
- c) Safety devices;*
- d) Industrial measuring instruments : ammeters, voltmeters, phasometers, etc.*

GROUP 14.

Chemical, Ceramic, Glass and Sugar Industries

In this group are included the raw materials, processes, instruments, machinery, products, utilization of products and by-products, produced or used by the following industries.

I. — CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

A. — INDUSTRIES CONNECTED WITH FUELS.

a) Industries connected with mineral fuels : Carbonisation and distillation of peat, lignite, coal, petroleum, shales, etc.;

1. Coke ovens;
2. Gas Works;
3. Industrial heating gas plants;
4. Distillation and treatment of fuels with a view to obtaining spirits and oils from them. Distillation of raw petroleum. Manufacture of spirits, lighting oils, solid hydrocarbons (stearine) by-products, etc. Cracking and other processes;

5. Pitch and Tar works;

6. all works using as raw materials the products of distillations : benzol, aniline oil, colouring matters, pharmaceutical and photographic compounds and generally, derivatives of fuels (gaseous, solid or liquid minerals).

7. By products : ammonium sulphate; coke, etc.

b) Industries connected with vegetable fuels, Carbonisation and distillation of wood and other organic compounds.

1. charcoal;

2. all industries deriving from the treatment of the products of distillation of wood and other organic compounds

(methyl alcohol, acetone, acetic acid, wood tar, animal charcoal, etc.).

c) industries connected with synthetic fuels :

1. Synthetic hydrocarbonated fuels;
2. Acetylene;
3. All derived industries.

B. — HEAVY CHEMICAL INDUSTRY.

a) industries connected with inorganic chemistry :

1. manufacture of the principal inorganic acids : sulphuric, nitric, hydrochloric acids, of their salts, their derivatives and their by products (sulphurous acid, sodium sulphate, etc.);

2. Manufacture of the principal bases : caustic soda, caustic potash, ammonia, their derivatives and by products (sodium carbonate and bicarbonate).

3. Manufacture of chemical manures (phosphates, superphosphates, etc.);

4. Chemical treatment of ores or natural minerals and namely : manufacture of copper sulphate with the ore of copper as a starting point.

Manufacture of alums.

Manufacture of chromates with chromite as a starting point.

Manufacture of aluminium salts with bauxite or clays as starting points.

Manufacture of barium sulphide with barytine as a starting point.

Manufacture of metallic salts.

Treatment of rare earths and radioactive ores.

5. Manufacture of metallic and metalloidal compounds and namely : lead derivatives; litharge, minium, white lead, zinc derivatives; oxydes, sulphates.

Pigments derived from homogeneous metal, (colours derived from chromium, iron, copper, gold, uranium, etc.).

Colours used in cement making, enamelling, coloured glass manufacture.

Derivatives of arsenic; arsenious acid, etc.

6. Manufacture of acids, bases and salts other than those mentioned hereabove and namely : manufacture of the halogen acids (other than hydrochloric acid), prussiates, manganates, permanganates, etc.;

7. Manufacture of certain elements : sulphur, phosphorus, chlorine, sodium, iodine, etc.

8. Chemical treatment and recuperation of industrial residues and by-products;

Examples : processes of chemical recuperation of tin from tin wares.

9. Miscellaneous chemical industries.

b) Industries connected with organic chemistry.

1. Fermentation industries; malting, brewing wine and cider making, distilleries, vinegar making.

Yeasts.

2. Manufacture of fatty organic compounds and their derivatives.

Examples : manufacture of oils and grease;

manufacture of soaps;

manufacture of candles;

manufacture of glues and jellies;

manufacture of fecula, dextrine, gluten, starch and their derivatives;

peltries, tanneries, leather dressing;

miscellaneous industries.

C. — INDUSTRIES CONNECTED WITH THE NATURAL GASES AND DERIVED INDUSTRIES.

a) Air and its components.

Examples : nitrogen and its derivatives, oxygen, ozone, etc.

b) Manufacture of carbonic acid.

c) manufacture of the rare gases : helium, neon, krypton, etc.

D. — INDUSTRIES CONNECTED WITH INFLAMMABLE COMPOUNDS.

a) Manufacture of powders, explosives, detonators, tinders, etc.

b) Manufacture of matches.

c) Manufacture of plastic compounds : celluloid, gallalite, synthetic and natural resin.

E. — PAPER INDUSTRY AND CELLULOSE INDUSTRY :

a) Treatment of wood, vegetable matter, rags and miscellaneous substances used in the manufacture of paper pastes.

b) manufacture of paper (ordinary and fancy papers, wall papers, cardboard, bituminous cardboard, etc.).

F. — MANUFACTURE OF THE REFRACTORY SUBSTANCES USED IN CHEMISTRY.

II. — CERAMIC INDUSTRY

a) Manufacture of substances made of baked earth : brick works, tile works, pipe works, potteries, manufacture of paving tiles, etc.

b) Manufacture of artificial potter's earths and sandstones.

c) Manufacture of refractory substances.

d) Manufacture of porcelain, crockery, sanitary tiles.

e) Artistic crockery, ceramic and pottery.

f) Mosaic.

III. — GLASS INDUSTRY

a) Manufacture of leaf, blown and drawn glass, glass paste, moulded and hardened glasses.

Quartz and special glasses.

b) Manufacture of phials, bottles, drinking glasses, etc.

c) Manufacture of window and mirror glasses.

d) Crystal manufactory.

e) Manufacture of optical glasses, spectacles.

f) Manufacture of artificial precious stones.

g) Manufacture of stained glasses and stained windows.

h) Manufacture of artistic drinking glasses and crystals.

i) The cutting, colouring, painting and engraving of glass.

IV. — SUGAR INDUSTRY

a) Rasping.

b) Sugar making.

c) Sugar refining.

d) Treatment of the by-products : cements, molasses.

GROUP 15.

Textile Industries

In this group are classified, the raw materials, processes, machinery, tools, products and uses of the products made or used by the following industries :

a) The works where the raw materials of the textile industry are prepared : retting, washing, combing, carbonising works.

b) Manufacture of vegetable cables and bags.

c) Spinning mills and roperies (threads, twine, ropes, cables, warp and weft threads, etc.).

d) Manufacture of woven fabrics.

I. Machinery.

1. used in the operations preparatory to weaving.

2. looms for plain fabrics and embroidered fabrics, special looms for the weaving of hosiery, laces and tulles.

3. Machinery used in lace manufacturing and miscellaneous textile mills.

4. Machinery used in carpet making.

II. The raw and manufactured products of the above industries and namely :

1. woven wool, hair and other animal fibres fabrics ;

2. woollen carpets;

3. woven fabrics of linen, jute, hemp, ramie and other vegetable fibres;

4. laces of all kinds;

5. embroidered fabrics of all kinds;

6. braids, stay laces, fringes, etc.

e) Bleaching, dyeing, printing, sizing and finishing works.

f) The industries connected with the artificial textile materials and specially artificial silk. All finished and manufactured products of these industries.

g) Millinery and ready made clothing for men, women, and children.

h) Dressing of vegetable and animal fabrics.

i) Miscellaneous industries of the vegetable fabrics.

Examples : mats, jute, and cocomatting, linoleum carpets.

j) Manufacture of industrial felts.

k) Manufacture of asbestos and miscellaneous fabrics.

Artificial covering materials in fibro-ciment, etc.

N. B. — Some of these products will be shown in the Pavillion of the Feminine Interests.



C. - Transport Section

GROUP 16.

In this section will be shown :

A. — All processes, raw materials, machines, apparatuses and products used or made by the manufacturers of bicycles and motor bicycles.

B. — *All processes*, apparatuses, machines, equipment, tools, and constructions connected with :

a) *normal gauge* or small gauge railways, yards or works railways, etc., tramways, etc., and namely all that concerns.

1. The superstructure, permanent way, ballast, bridges tunnels, level crossings, sleepers, rails, chairs, wedges, points, crossings, plates of pivoting bridges, carriage gauges, etc.;

2. The signalisation : signals and all apparatus used to make travelling secure, methods and systems of exploitation (dispatch system).

3. Goods and passengers stations and all accessories : platforms, depots, stores, sheds.

Water and coal feeding of engines, etc.

b) *Rolling stock* : locomotives, tenders, carriages and trucks of all kinds, lighting, heating and braking of trains, all accessories.

Repairs and building workshops, all machinery and tools used therein.

c) *Exploitation* : tracing of the routes of trains, distribution of the rolling stock.

Passenger service and all accessories.

Goods services and all accessories.

Cleaning and disinfection.

d) *Other kinds of railways* : aerial railways, funicular, toothed rack and miscellaneous railways.

D. - Civil Engineering Section

GROUP 17.

Public Highways

In this group are placed the industries or concerns producing or using, the following machines, tools and apparatuses.

A. — MATERIALS, MACHINERY AND PROCESSES USED IN CONNECTION WITH THE BUILDING, REPAIRING AND UPKEEPING OF ROADS, STREETS, AND PUBLIC HIGHWAYS IN GENERAL and namely :

a) Materials used in public highways :

1. Natural paving and ballasting materials;

2. Artificial paving materials;

3. Binding materials : bitumen, tar, lime, cements, silicates and others.

b) Processes, machinery, tools and apparatus used in connection with the production and preparation of highways raw materials.

1. Rocky materials (pounders, grinders, sieves, trommels, etc.).

2. Tarry or bituminous materials (dessicators, mixers, etc.).

3. Cements.

4. Bricks, paving stones and flags.

Examples : moulds, presses, etc.

c) Processes, machinery and raw materials used in the making or repairing of roads etc., and namely :

1. Excavating machines, frame timbering machines, machines used to consolidate the ground, to drain the roads, to lay water or electricity mains under the highways, sweeping machines, rollers, tar spraying machines, etc.

2. Machines used in the breaking up and dismantling of old roads : (boring machines, monkeys, saws, pneumatic digging and tearing machines).

3. Miscellaneous machines.

B. — PROCESSES, APPARATUSES, MACHINERY AND INSTALLATIONS, CONNECTED WITH ALL HIGHWAYS SUBSIDIARY SERVICES and namely :

- a) Subterranean gas and electricity mains;
- b) water mains, fire hydrants;
- c) sewers;
- d) collection of refuse;
- e) cleaning of highways : snowploughs, sweeping machines mud sweeping and mud gathering machines, etc., water carts, watering hoses, etc.;
- f) miscellaneous.

C. — PROCESSES, APPARATUSES, MACHINERY AND INSTALLATIONS CONNECTED WITH TRAFFIC REGULATIONS and namely :

- a) signposts;
- b) lighting systems of roads and streets;
- c) safety devices : danger signals, level crossings signalisation systems, systems of traffic regulations in large towns.
- d) miscellaneous.

D. — APPARATUSES USED IN COLLEGES AND LABORATORIES OF ROAD TECHNIQUE.

Examples : experimental tracks, road measuring instruments (measurement of the dynamic effects of traffic, measurement of the wear and tear of ruts).
Miscellaneous instruments.

N. B. — Group D. hereabove is also a section of Group 5, "Industrial Sciences".

E. — NEWSPAPER and pamphlet writings connected with Highways and Traffic also come under the "Highways" heading namely :

- a) All literature dealing with the technical and administrative organisation of highways departments, with traffic regulations, with the fiscal system applied to vehicles, etc.
- b) Plans, photographs and profiles of roads.
- c) The journals, bulletins, maps, guide books, published by the Associations connected with the use of highways.

Concrete

In this group are comprised all the industries and concerns producing or using, the materials, processes, tools and machinery mentioned in paragraphs A. B, C, D, hereunder, as well as the contractors and specialized concerns dealing with the building of concrete houses, and the decoration of concrete mentioned in paragraphs E and F hereunder.

A. — RAW MATERIALS USED IN THE MAKING OF CONCRETE

- a) of a stony nature, natural and artificial sands and cements of all kinds;
 - gravels;
 - broken rock and slag;
 - Miscellaneous.
- b) of a metallic nature : different steels and special rolled steels.
- c) Ballasting materials.

B. — TOOLS AND MACHINES USED IN THE PRODUCTION OF MATERIALS USED IN THE MAKING OF CONCRETE and namely : dredging machines, sifting machines, gravel washing machines, granulators of artificial sands, pounders, separators, etc.

C. — MACHINERY USED IN THE WORKING OF CONCRETE and namely :

Machines for ballasting and staying.

Malaxors.

Elevators.

Pounding and ramming machines.

Tools used in the bending of rods.

Means of transport and manipulation used in reinforced concrete yards.

Miscellaneous.

D. — APPARATUSES AND PROCESSES USED TO REMEDY :

1. the faults of acoustic in concrete buildings;

2. dampness in concrete buildings;

3. the faults of thermal conductivity in concrete buildings;

4. the difficulties of fixing nails and braces in concrete walls;

5. miscellaneous inconveniences.

E. — CONCRETE BUILDINGS : foundations, piles, slabs, partitions, walls, pillars, beams, industrial buildings of all kinds : edifices, public buildings, bridges, quays, warehouses, sheds, dams, locks, reservoirs, cellars, vaults, floors, terraces, sewers, etc.

Railways sleepers, monolithic blocks, etc.

Miscellaneous applications : statues, safes, etc .

F. — DECORATION OF CONCRETE :

1. Sculpture of concrete;

2. Cutting of concrete;

3. Colouring of concrete;

4. Painting of concrete;

5. Waterproofing of concrete;

6. Miscellaneous.

E. - Section relative to Science and the Industries combined

GROUP 18.

Planning and building of Industrial Installations and organization of the work Newspapers and Documentation

In the first class are grouped :

a) All processes and installations used or preconised to adapt the exterior of mills and works and their dependencies to the district in which they are situated, to measure, diminish or suppress the dangers and inconveniences due to the existence of mills and works in certain districts (either from the sanitary, esthetic or any other point of view), and namely all processes, and installations used or preconised to fight against harmful gases and emanations, smoke, mud, dust, noise, fire, explosions, the pollution of water, etc.

b) All methods of testing and studying, all methods and installations used or preconised to ameliorate, the organisation, the safety, and the salubrity of the work and to fight against the accidents and the inconveniences entailed by the work.

c) All methods of testing and studying, all methods and installations used or preconised, to determine professional aptitudes, or to train professionally the employees, foremen, etc.

In the second class will be grouped everything relating to :

a) Publishing, the Press and scientific technical and industrial documentation.

b) the architecture, the arrangements, the fittings and the furniture of lecture rooms, laboratories, draughtmen's rooms, offices and buildings of technical and industrial schools or colleges.

Examples : desks, pigeonholes, files, pencils, rubbers and all accessories.



F. - Congresses and Lectures

Numerous congresses, lectures, and scientific demonstrations will be organized in connection with the International Exhibition of Liege 1930.



Old Walloon Art

EXHIBITION OF OLDEN TIME LIEGE ART AND OLD WALLOON ARTS

ARCHITECTURE

Plans and views of ancient civil and religious edifices.
Reconstitutions.

SCULPTURE

Ivory, Stone, Wood.
Statues, altar screens, busts.

MINIATURE ILLUMINATING PAINTING

GOLD AND SILVER SMITHERY. ENAMELLED WORK

Reliquaries, Shrines, Chalices, Monstrances.

SEALS COINS MEDALS

MANUSCRIPTS, ENGRAVINGS, PRINTING, BOOK BINDINGS

FURNITURE

Chests, Credences, cupboards, grandfather's clocks, writing tables, wardrobes, chest of drawers and commodos, glass tables, tables, chairs, arm chairs, etc.

SPA WOOD

SILVER CUTLERY

PEWTER, BRASS WARES, ARTISTIC IRON WARES

CLOCKMAKING

Clocks, timepieces, watches.

POTTERY, STONEWARE, CROCKERY WARE, GLASS WARE

ARTISTIC FABRICS

Carpets, embroidery, lace.

RECONSTITUTIONS OF OLDEN TIME HOMES

PREHISTORY

Large collections of documents and exhibits found in grottoes and caverns, and in the earth beds of the Meuse valley and adjoining country.



Special Events and Special Exhibitions

International Exhibition of Music

The Music Exhibition will be of interest to :

A. — SCIENTISTS, INVENTORS, MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS IN INSTRUMENTS USED IN ACCOUSTIC; in the study of vibratory movements, and the accoustics of auditoriums and generally speaking in the study and testing of all sound receiving apparatuses or buildings.

Examples : all instruments and processes connected with the production and qualities of sounds, the measuring of the height of sounds, of musical intervals, and of the propagation of sounds, with the analysis and synthesis of sounds, the perception of sounds, and connected with electricity as applied to music.

B. — THE INVENTORS, MANUFACTURERS AND DEALERS IN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS OF ALL KINDS AND THEIR ACCESSOIRES and namely :

a) *Musical instruments* of all kinds such as :

1. Ordinary instruments : wind instruments (cornets, clarinets, etc.) string instruments (pianos, violins, etc.), percussion instruments (xylophones, bells, etc.);

2. Mechanical musical instruments : electric pianos, etc.

b) *Talking machines* (gramophones, phonographs, etc.).

c) *wireless sets*, and all accessories (these will be grouped in a special pavilion).

d) *Exotic instruments*.

e) *Musical toys*, etc.

f) *All methods and processes used in the manufacture of musical instruments*.

g) *Literature, editions, musical press*.

C. — THE HISTORY OF MUSIC : musical instruments of all periods, manuscripts, old documents, etc., historical reconstructions such as the rooms of Grétry, and Hamal.

D. — MUSICAL EDUCATION : where will be shown the documents, statistics, curriculums, publications and busts of the several colleges and conservatories of Music.

N. B. — The International Exhibition of Music will be completed by lectures, recitals, plays, competitions, etc.

Feminine Life The Pavilion of Feminine Interests

The pavilion of feminine interests shall consist of several buildings, grouping the following objects.

A. — THE PAVILION OF ELEGANCE :

a) *Clothing* : linen, frocks, coats, furs, underclothing knitted wear, shawls, stockings, gloves, corsets, elastic fabrics, etc. All accessories. This subsection is of interest to all shops dealing in linens, ready made clothing, coats and furs, woollens, knitted wear, haberdashery, etc.

b) *Millinery* : this sub section is of interest to :

1. Millinery shops (hats, veils, etc.) all accessories;

2. Hairdressing establishments (combs, hairpins, ton-sorial art, etc.).

c) *Footwear* : shoes, boots, spats, gaiters, etc.

This is of special interest to footwear shops.

d) *Ornaments* : jewellery, bracelets, etc., artificial flowers, fans, feathers, etc., walking sticks, sunshades, umbrellas, handbags, etc.

e) *Perfumery* : perfumes, toilet soaps, face powders, face creams, pastes, lotions, etc.

B. — THE FEMININE ARTS.

a) *The fine arts* : painting, sculpture, music, dancing, theatre.

b) *Decorative and homely arts* : laces, embroideries, carpets, handling and decorating of metals, wood, artificial flowers, ivory, mother of pearl, raffia, etc. Decorations of all kinds (cushions, screens, vases, religious ornamenting, etc.).

c) *The teaching of decorative and homely arts* : rooms and stands reserved for the schools of feminine arts.

C. — THE FEMININE ACTIVITIES :

a) *Liberal professions* : women as journalists, writers, lawyers, doctors, students, etc.

b) *Manual work* : stands for the workshops connected with, modes, garment cutting, lace making, glove making, corset making, artificial flower manufacture, cigar and cigarette making, laundries, etc.

c) *Office work* : Typists, stenographers, shopwalkers, accountants, bookkeepers, etc.

d) *Home work* : Woman and the children.

e) *Charity work* : slum work.

f) *The teaching* of the above mentioned professions.

D. — FEMININE SPORTS.

Apparatus and accessories :

a) Physical education, gymnastics.

b) Girl Guides.

c) Tennis, hunting, riding, motor car driving.

d) Miscellaneous (games) etc.

E. — PAPERS, PUBLICATIONS, BOOKS CONNECTED with feminine life.

Agriculture

The agriculture exhibition will comprise :

A. — AN INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF AGRICULTURAL ENGINEERING where will be shown.

a) The tools, machines, engines and material used in :

1. the preparing of the land before cultivation;

Examples : land draining machines; land grubbing ploughs, weeders, hoes, etc. all accessories.

2. the cultivating of the land;

Examples : ploughs, cultivators, harrows, rollers, sowing machines, grain and manure distributing machines, potato sowing machines, earthers, hoes, beetroot distancers, etc., all accessories.

3. the harvesting and storing of the products and by products of the land;

Examples : haymaking, mowing, binding, bundling and harvesting machines, rakes, beetroot, potato and chicory rooting machines, beetroot cleaning machines all accessories : strings, etc.

4. the treatment, handling, transporting and warehousing of the products and by products of the land :

Examples : carts, tumbrels, hayloading machines, haycarts, thrashing machines, grain and potato sorting machines,

winnowing machines, root cutting machines, hay chopping machines, bagging machines, etc.
 All accessories, pulleys, belting, draysheets, etc.
 Trappings for animals, either harnessed, mounted or in the stable.
 Fancy and working harnesses.

b) Tools, machines, engines, and material used in connection with the production, breeding, harvesting, preservation, and treatment of products of animal origin.

Examples : milk carts, milking machines skimming machines, milk and cream troughs, milk filters, butter tins, calving machines, etc.
 Trappings of horse, cow and dog stables.

c) Tools, machines, and material connected with special cultures and special breeding.

Examples : all tools and material used in arboriculture, all tools and material used in market gardening.
 All implements and machines used in poultry breeding (hencoops, hatching machines).

d) Apparatus and tools connected with engineering, electricity and science used for the principal and subsidiary needs of industrial farming.

Examples : tractors, locomobiles, petrol, oil and benzine engines, etc. pumps of all kinds.
 Troughs, barrels, jacks, hand winches, transporters, mixing and pounding machines.
 Machinery used in cooking food for the cattle, washing and wringing machines.
 Scales, weighbridges, instruments used in laboratories for the analysis of milk and manures, instruments and processes of veterinary surgery.

B. — EXHIBITION OF VITICULTURE.

Processes, methods and products of viticulture.
 Buildings and installations used in viticulture.

Tools used in the culture of vine.

Machines used during vintage time and in wine cellars,
 Vehicles, grape picking machines, wine presses, etc.
 Wine making methods, etc.

N. B. — The programme of the Agricultural Exhibition will be completed by special events, congresses, special exhibitions, and agricultural competitions.

Tourism, Sport, Physical education

A. — BELGIAN TOURISM.

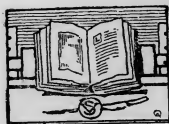
The Coast line. The large towns. The historical centres.
 The Ardennes. The watering places, The means of Tourism.
 Associations, Press and Publications.

B. — FOREIGN TOURISM.

C. — SPORTS AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION.

Special events and Exhibitions.
 Feasts and competitions.
 Congress.





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Live and let live

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LIVE AND LET LIVE

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Box 363

A PLEA



For Restricting Land Ownership,
Government Ownership of Rail-
roads, Postal Savings Banks, and
for a Tariff for Revenue Only

By B. U. HIESTER

~~GRAND RIDGE, ILLINOIS~~

915 Illinois Ave.,
Ottawa, Ill.

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X

Price, Single Copy, Ten Cents.

Ten or more copies, by mail postpaid, six cents per copy.

UNEMPLOYMENT.

Editor Ottawa News:

The question of caring for the unemployed and destitute is becoming more grave every day. The funds of existing relief agencies are becoming rapidly exhausted and the problem of replenishing them is growing more and more difficult. The problem has become too great to be handled by local communities or even the states and everybody is now demanding that the federal government find some remedy. Something must be done before another winter or there will be widespread suffering on the part of many and greatly increased crime and anarchy.

Of course those who are destitute and unable to work as well as children and women who have children to care for will have to be cared for. They should be fed and clothed and provided with shelter and fuel but for all who are able to work and earn a living for themselves and their families it is imperative that they should be given some kind of employment. This employment should be of such a nature as will yield a ready return in money or assist in providing the food, clothing and other necessities for their own and the relief of others.

Land should be acquired in various parts of the country and an army of these people set to work on each tract of land building community centers for the comfortable housing of these people. There should be large buildings like army

barracks for the unmarried and apartment houses and cottages for families. There should be barns for dairy herds, poultry houses and good shops in each such community center. When possible these community centers should be located in proximity to some great mineral, oil or gas resource or some factory so that those who lived in these community centers could find employment working for private enterprises or if private enterprises failed to give employment the government should operate factories or mines to give the people employment.

Our object would not be to give any unfair competition to private enterprise but more to give employment where private enterprise failed. It would be our object to make these community centers and industrial enterprises entirely self-supporting. We would charge a reasonable price to those who lived in them and pay only a living wage for labor performed leaving everyone free to work either for government or private enterprise. At the same time we would encourage all who lived in these community centers to study better methods of agriculture and horticulture, dairying, care of poultry, shop work, brick laying, plumbing and carpenter work. We would make this educational feature so prominent a part of the work that many would be glad to spend a few years in these community centers in order to better fit themselves for some private enterprise.

B. U. HIESTER.

RESTRICTING LAND OWNERSHIP.

One great blot on civilization in all ages of the world and in almost every nation has been monopoly in land and in those natural resources which are connected with it, such as natural forests, minerals, oil, gas, etc. By it a few people are enabled to live in luxury and idleness upon the toil of the masses. God never intended that a few people should own the whole world and be permitted to charge the rest for the privilege of living upon it. Every person born into the world has a right to live in it, and that right implies the right to the use of a certain portion of the earth's surface as well as to those things which nature has placed upon it or beneath its surface. These things are not the product of any man's labor, but are the free gift of God or nature to all mankind. If we have a right to control or prevent monopoly in any thing, we certainly have a right to do so in these, for they are the very foundation of all wealth. But how are we to do it?

The simplest, most effective and most just way to prevent monopoly in land would be by a graduated tax on pure land values exclusive of all improvements. Under such a system land ownership could be restricted to any degree that might be thought advisable according as the scale of taxation would ascend more or less rapidly or the unit of valuation* might

*By unit of valuation is meant the amount that constitutes each separate block or section in the assessment. Thus, in the scale chosen one thousand dollars constitutes a unit of valuation.

INTENTIONAL SECOND EXPOSURE

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*By unit of valuation is meant the amount that constitutes each separate block or section in the assessment. Thus, in the scale chosen one thousand dollars constitutes a unit of valuation.

be increased or decreased. For the sake of illustrating the working of such a law we will choose a scale placing a tax of fifty cents on the first thousand dollars' worth of pure land value exclusive of all improvements owned by one person or corporation, one dollar on the second thousand dollars' worth of pure land value, one dollar and fifty cents on the third thousand dollars' worth, and so on. On this plan it will be seen that by the time a landed estate reached a valuation of twenty thousand dollars, pure land value, the tax on the last thousand dollars' worth of such an estate would reach one per cent. of this last thousand dollars' worth or unit of valuation; and on any landed estate above twenty thousand dollars' valuation the tax would be above one per cent. on all values exceeding twenty thousand dollars. We believe that when the tax reached one per cent. or more of the value of such part of the estate that the owner would seek to invest his money in something else, and that therefore landed estates for most purposes would be practically limited to about twenty thousand dollars' valuation. We would, however, continue the graduated scale of taxation until it would reach two per cent. of any additional valuation, when we would make it uniform at that rate for any additional amount that might be held in one estate. This we would consider advisable because there are some business enterprises, the nature of which require that they should have very much more than twenty thousand dollars' worth of land value. Such enterprises would be taxed out of existence altogether, were the graduated fea-

ture of the tax to continue ad infinitum. These enterprises are essential to the times in which we live and, at least for a time, must remain as private enterprises; therefore we must permit them to remain, but the two per cent. tax on the excess of land value which it would be permitted for them to hold would be only a just and reasonable rent which they should pay to the people as a whole for the privilege of using this land.

If a person used land for agricultural purposes or any other surface use and paid tax on its value for such purposes only, we would not recognize in him any title to mineral, oil, or gas resources that might be connected with it. The fact that a person owned and paid taxes on land for such uses should not prevent any one else from going onto the land and prospecting for or developing these other resources, provided they first paid the owner of the surface of the land such damages as might be caused to it for the purpose for which it was being used. No person should have the right to lock these resources up and keep them from the rest of mankind. All such idle resources should be free to be worked by any one who would occupy them and pay the tax on so much of them as he might be able to work.

Timber being in the nature of a growing crop, it should always belong to the owner of the surface of the land. Special laws would be necessary to protect and preserve our natural forests so far as they remain and to encourage the planting and cultivation of more timber.

The graduated tax on land values, by making it unprofitable for any one to hold more than a certain amount of land, would compel those who now have large amounts to sell off the unprofitable surplus. On account of the very light tax on the smaller estates, it would not cause any depreciation in the value of land. Those who had more than they could profitably hold under such a law would be able to get the full value of their land on the basis of what it was worth when such a law would go into effect. They would have to divide their surplus land and sell it out in quantities to suit the purchasers and their ability to pay for it. Some would buy a few hundred dollars' worth, some one or two thousand dollars' worth, and so on up to the limit of profitable holding.

Such a system would furnish a wholesome restraint against the holding of vacant city lots or any other idle land for speculative purposes. In the rural districts it would build up an innumerable number of smaller homes among the larger farms, the occupants of which would engage in truck farming, poultry and bee raising, and furnish necessary labor for public and private enterprises. Such a law would contribute to a higher standard of agriculture, not only because it would be an inducement for people to make the best possible use of what land they might have rather than to buy more, but because it would have a tendency to throw the ownership of the land into the hands of those who lived on it and worked it. This would give them more interest in the land and enable them to make desired improvements and the better

to maintain the fertility of the soil by rotation of crops and the application of fertilizers. Land owners would devote their incomes to improving their lands with better buildings and fences and more thorough drainage rather than to buy large areas of land.

Restricting land ownership by a graduated tax would not absolutely give any to those who had none. The land would still have to be bought, but this would have the advantage that it would tend to throw it into the hands of those who would most appreciate it and make the best possible use of it. Even those who could not buy would be benefited by such a measure. It would raise the standard of wages and increase the opportunity for employment by drawing off many from the ranks of the wage-earner to engage in agricultural pursuits or some other enterprise and perhaps become employers of labor themselves.

The building up of an innumerable number of small homes among the larger farms would create a demand for labor and furnish a market for vast quantities of building material; and the support of the families that would occupy them would require untold quantities of household goods, fuel, clothing, shoes, etc., the furnishing of which would greatly stimulate almost every branch of industry.

The filling up of the country with these smaller homes would make possible many comforts which the country districts cannot now afford. It would greatly assist in the making of better roads, help to maintain our rural mail routes, make it possible to

operate interurban car lines and telephone lines with much greater economy, and no doubt in many instances would give to the country districts electricity for lighting and power purposes.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE HOMESTEAD LAW.

A careful study of the influences which followed as a result of the passage of our homestead law should convince any one of the great benefits to be derived from giving the people easy access to the land. This law was the outgrowth of a long struggle which had existed from the very beginning of our independence, for laws that would place the public lands within the reach of the common people. Those who represented the people in Congress in the early days of the Republic, much like those of the present day, were mostly from among the more wealthy class. Some of them were of English birth and most of them were of English ancestry, with the English idea of a landed aristocracy born and bred in them. The Southern planter carried this idea to its perfection, while the New England members of these early Congresses, guided more by self-interest than by a desire for the best interests of the people, opposed such legislation as would make the public lands easily accessible to the people, openly avowing that such a course would depopulate the New England states.

The first policy of the government was to sell these lands only by townships. But, as we have already

stated, there were always those who advocated its sale in small tracts to suit actual settlers; and they from time to time succeeded in getting the size of the tracts reduced, each step in that direction being marked by a more rapid increase in the settling up of new lands and in a better condition of the people. Finally in 1862 our present homestead law was enacted. It was the first of our laws which actually gave to the people the public lands on condition of settlement. Although we were then engaged in a terrible struggle between two sections of the country, how quickly did we rise from the ashes of war when peace was declared, and with what rapid strides did the development of the country go forward. It was not only the agricultural resources that were developed, but railroads were built and extended in every direction; mines were opened, factories sprang up on every hand and wages steadily increased. These things continued until all our desirable public lands had fallen into the hands of private parties and there was no longer any public land to be had by the poor except in remote and out-of-the-way places.

This law was well suited to the times in which it was enacted; it was well suited to a nation with millions of acres of unsettled public land; it was far in advance of any policy ever adopted by any other government, and it is an honor to those who originated it and secured its passage. It served the purpose well for which it was enacted and showed the great advantage of giving the people easy access to the land; but under the conditions of the present time its power for good is very limited.

It is true that some good is being done by the part the federal government is taking in developing irrigation districts in some of the western states. These efforts are commendable, but they will never reach the people that would be reached by a law such as we have proposed, for, with many of them, it is wholly impracticable to cross the continent with their families and take advantage of these opportunities. Should they attempt to do so these districts would soon be filled to overflowing and we would again be at the end of our string.

We often read with interest about the work the Salvation Army and other benevolent societies are doing in helping the worthy poor of the cities to obtain homes in the country by establishing colonies for that purpose. The graduated tax on land values would accomplish much more in this direction than any benevolent society could possibly do and in a much simpler manner.

It would check the spirit of avarice and elevate the morals of the people. It would avert much pauperism and crime. Many people under present conditions find times when they either have to accept charity or commit crime to keep from starving or being driven from their homes and each time they do so it becomes easier for them, and becomes more and more of a habit. Many young men in the rural districts, unable to get land to cultivate, even as tenants or to find a home in the country, go to the city to seek employment. Here they meet with all sorts of evil, hard luck, and temptations which

quickly sends many of them on the down road to ruin. Were it easier for them to get a footing in the country we believe that the greater part of them would remain on the land, marry and establish comfortable homes.

We do not advocate the graduated tax on land and other natural resources as an only source for raising revenue. Its prime object would be to govern the amount of land or other natural resource that one person could acquire a title to, and thereby give others a chance. We could not know until it had been tried just how much revenue such a measure would yield, but we believe that under the scale suggested land would bear about the same proportion of the burden of taxation that it now does. Whatever it might be, it could be divided between local, state or national authorities or supplemented by any other tax that was thought proper.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP OF RAILROADS.

After the graduated tax on land values and other natural resources the next most necessary thing to advance the prosperity of the people is government ownership of railroads. It is almost universally admitted that our present railroad service is costing the people entirely too much money and is very unfair towards the people in the matter of discriminations. It is a general custom in all private business for people to get as much as they can for their services or what they have to sell, and those who own railroads

feel that they have as much right to do business on this principle as those engaged in other lines of business; so their policy is to charge all the traffic will bear.

We have read about where a certain railroad hauls manure from Chicago to points in Southern Illinois, a distance of 200 miles, for \$5 a carload, and we suppose they can afford to do so or they would not do it; yet we are charged \$20 for taking a car-load of live stock or grain to Chicago or bringing a load of lumber from there, a distance of 90 miles. They charge us \$20 for bringing a car-load of stone from Naperville or Joliet to our home town, a distance of about 60 miles; or \$15 for carrying a car-load of brick a distance of 10 miles. They charge more than twice as much for hauling a car-load of stone 60 miles than the men who quarry the stone and load it onto the cars get for it.

If the freight on stone and other building material was as low as the railroad mentioned hauls the manure for, what a stimulant it would be to build and to how many would it give employment to produce this material, and what comfort and profit it would bring to those who would enjoy the advantage of cheaper building material. Could we get freight rates on material for building hard roads as reasonable as this road hauls the manure, it would greatly facilitate the building of such roads in many parts of the country.

We have been trying for years to correct by law some of the abuses of the railroads, but with little re-

sults. Now it is proposed to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power to fix rates. This we consider very impracticable; for, should they make a uniform scale of rates for all roads, it would have to be high enough to permit those roads with the least favorable conditions a fair and reasonable profit, and such a rate would be no restraint at all to the more favored roads and especially to our great trunk lines. To fix just and reasonable rates on each class of freight and suited to the conditions of each separate road would require men with a thorough knowledge of every detail of the business in each particular case. It would require an army of government officials skilled in all the details of railroad business almost as numerous as the employees of the railroad companies themselves; and all this merely to watch the railroads. If we could get men competent to do all this work and men that would be fair to both the railroads and the public, would they not be competent to manage the railroads in the interests of the people, and could we not trust them? How much simpler the whole thing would be where they had the actual transaction of the business in their own hands as a guide.

With private ownership and government watching and fixing of rates there would be constant litigation between the railroads and the government officials or the patrons of the roads, which would cost untold millions of dollars.

The people have just as good a right to go into the railroad business through their representative, the

government, as any private concern has, and we believe it is the only practical solution of the railroad question. We would not attempt to take over all the railroads of the country at once and place them under government control, but would buy out existing lines or build new ones where the need was most urgent, permitting private corporations to continue to occupy the field where they would furnish the service as cheaply and as satisfactorily as it was believed could be done by the government.

The government should aim to run these railroads on purely business principles. The charges should be such as would cover running expenses, pay interest on the original cost, and provide a moderate sinking fund that would in time cancel the first cost of the roads.

POSTAL SAVINGS BANKS.

When we talk about government ownership of railroads people will begin to say: "Where are you going to get the money with which to build these railroads?" Now we admit it is a very important question. We believe that much of the prejudice against government ownership is due to the fact that so many who have advocated it have coupled it with some unsound scheme for raising funds with which to buy out existing systems or build new ones. Any plan that is not built up on a sound financial basis would soon prove a failure. We should not attempt to meet these

expenses by the issuing of large quantities of paper money and especially with no promise to redeem in the standard money of the country.

We can, however, with perfect safety borrow the money and borrow it from the people through the medium of a postal savings bank. This would not only provide the means for building or buying the railroads, but it would provide a safe means of caring for the savings of the people and enable them to secure a low rate of interest on their savings. It would thus encourage economy and thrift on the part of the people.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Under the title we have chosen we feel impelled to say a few words on the tariff question. The advocates of what they call protection want to live, but they are not willing to let live. We believe that this so-called protective policy is unjust in principle and unwise in practice. It is a dangerous and bad principle to delegate to Congress the right to build up one industry at the expense of another. If any industry is really unprofitable and cannot be maintained without such aid it is unwise and unbusinesslike to foster it in this way. We had better buy the things which these industries would produce from such foreign countries as can produce them more cheaply than we can, and direct our efforts towards producing that which we can produce profitably without such aid.

Many people seem to have the idea that all our

manufacturing industries and some others have been built up by this "protective" principle, and that had it not been for it we would still be in a semi-civilized condition and located in a howling wilderness. They forget that in colonial times, without even the advantage incidental to a tariff for revenue only, the people were willing and anxious to manufacture many articles, and how the mother country tried to prevent them from doing so. After the close of the Revolutionary war and the adoption of the constitution manufacturers prospered under a tariff that averaged only 15 per cent. In the early part of the last century they prospered under a tariff which averaged only 25 per cent. Of course they were not the full grown giant corporations of the present day, but they were healthy, active, growing industries. Now these full-grown industries demand the advantage of a tariff that averages 60 per cent. on the cost of the goods.

We believe that the development of manufacturing interests has never in any way been dependent upon favors from the government, but that it always has been and still is incidental to the development of the country. We believe that our great industrial progress which the advocates of "protection" claim as the result of its influence has been due to the abundance of our great natural resources; and especially since the close of the war of the Rebellion to the influence of the Homestead law, which gave the people better access to the land than they had had before. We believe that our progress would have been even greater had we always adhered strictly to the policy of a tariff for revenue only.

Our present high tariff is directly responsible for the existence of many of our worst trusts. Give us the graduated tax on land values, government ownership of railroads, and a tariff for revenue only and we will have little cause for complaint on account of trusts and monopolies. Our tariff policy is also directly responsible for the destruction of our natural forests, the evil consequences of which we are yet to feel most keenly.

The beneficiaries of protection tell us first that the tariff makes high wages. Then they turn around and tell us they must have such "protection" because wages are high. If "protection" makes high wages and adds no burden to consumers, then why don't they put the tariff up so as to give the laboring man all he asks for? If a high tariff makes good times and high prices for the products of the farm, why don't they give us farmers a dollar a bushel for corn? What is the use of stopping at 40 or 50 cents? The fact is "protection" never has added one penny to the general average of wages. To raise the price of everything that the laborer works with or to raise the price of material which enters into the construction of things on which the laborer is employed can have but one effect, and that is to restrict production, lessen the demand for labor and lower wages.

Free and unrestricted commercial intercourse between nations binds them together in friendship and lessens the danger of war, while the constant teasing of one another with their tariff sticks disturbs their otherwise peaceful relations. "Reciprocity" is the

biggest humbug of the age. It is only an excuse for maintaining a high tariff. With a Senate many of the members of which are interested in highly protected industries, there is not much chance of their ratifying any treaties that do not give them everything. Had we the most perfect reciprocal trade treaties that could be made established with every nation upon the face of the globe, we would still have no advantage that we might not have under the lowest tariff possible consistent with needed revenue. It is true that other nations might not always reciprocate with a low tariff on what we would like to sell to them, but we believe with no cause for complaint towards us they would be disposed to pursue a liberal policy. Should they not do so they would be hurting themselves a great deal more than us, and it would not pay us to begin a policy of retaliation, thereby adding a burden to our own people who would buy goods from them. Let us make our own tariff schedules and leave other nations make theirs.

Voice of the People

OPPOSED TO FEDERAL PROSPERITY BOND ISSUE.

Editor Ottawa News:

We are not in favor of the proposed five billion dollar federal bond issue to be used in an effort to end the depression. We do not believe it can be done in the manner suggested but would only get us deeper into the mire. As pointed out by Mr. Hoover a few days

ago, we have already during the past two years expended more than two billions of dollars in public construction work in an effort to relieve the unemployment situation and it has brought but little relief. What we now need is some plan that will cost but little money and be self-sustaining from the start.

When Joseph bought up the surplus wheat in Egypt 3,700 years ago, he did not ask for a bond issue with which to finance the project. He started building storehouses at once and began buying

wheat. No doubt wheat was very cheap and so was labor. He probably paid the laborers largely with wheat. He no doubt exchanged wheat for other commodities with those who came into Egypt to trade. He sold these other commodities to the Egyptian people, made good profits on the transactions and everybody was happy and contented.

In a similar manner our government today, with a moderate outlay of funds could begin building storehouses and grain elevators and began trading in certain commodities of a non-perishable nature, both agricultural and others.

In buying these commodities we would pay for them by an issue of paper money never greater in volume at any time than the value of such commodities held in store in government owned warehouses and grain elevators. Such a plan would provide an abundance of currency with which to conveniently transacted the business of the country. It would be a perfectly sound currency because it would be based on the value of the commodities and their value would be measured by the standard money of the country. Commodities could be exchanged at any time for either gold or silver if these metals were needed.

In undertaking such a government enterprise we would not interfere with private enterprise except as a lawful competitor. If government enterprise can render any service to the people more efficiently than private enterprise, why not government enterprise?

but if private enterprise can do the job better, then we are for private enterprise. Private enterprise must always earn interest on money invested in commodities while being marketed or stored, ~~X~~ these interest charges constitute a very large proportion of the cost of marketing. Under our plan of issuing money to represent the value of commodities while they are being marketed, or stored all such interest charges would be eliminated. Also we believe this plan would be the best solution of the agricultural marketing problem. It would effect a saving both in the marketing of the farmers products as well as in many things which he has to buy.

B. U. HIESTER.

Thursday, May 26, 1932.

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Haywood, Big Bill

The general strike

Chicago

[1917?]

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publishing bureau, 1917?,
cover-title, 48 p. 17cm.

Speech at meeting held for the benefit of the
Buccaforti defense, March 16, 1911.

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BY
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*Gift of
Frank Tamm*

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Speech by William D. Haywood at Meeting Held for
the Benefit of the Buccafori Defense, at Progress
Assembly Rooms, New York, March 16, 1911.

Comrades and Fellow Workers: I am here to-night with a heavy heart. I can see in that Raymond Street jail our comrade and fellow-worker Buccafori in a cell, a miserable cell, perhaps $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet wide, 7 feet long, sleeping on an iron shelf, wrapped up in a dirty blanket, vermin-infested perhaps; surrounded by human wolves, those who are willing to tear him limb from limb, those who will not feel that their duty to the political state is entirely fulfilled until Buccafori's heart ceases to beat. I had felt that this would be a great meeting. I feel now that I would hate to be in Buccafori's place. It is better, when charged with crime by a capitalist or by the capitalist class, to hold a prominent office in a great labor organization. You will then draw around you support—support sufficient to protect and to save your life. Had I been an ordinary member of the rank and file of a labor organization no more prominent than a shoe worker of Brooklyn I would not be here to-night. I am certain that I would be sleeping in a bed of quicklime within the walls of the Idaho State penitentiary. But it happened that I was a prominent official of a labor organization that was known world-wide; and for one to raise his voice in defense of the officials of that organization meant to give the speaker prominence. To speak in favor of Buccafori is to come into an out-of-the-way part of town and to speak to a small audience. There are those who prefer prominence to saving a fellow-worker's life. I came here to-night to do my little part, feeling that Buccafori is as much to the labor movement, is as much to the working class, is as beneficial to society as I myself, as any member here, or any of those who ever lifted their voice for me.

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Box 484

I am sorry that I haven't supernatural strength to reach into that prison and release Buccafori. I am sorry that I can't bring together the forces that saved my life. I can only speak here as an individual.

I came to-night to speak to you on the general strike. And this night, of all the nights in the year, is a fitting time. Forty years ago to-day there began the greatest general strike known in modern history, the French Commune; a strike that required the political powers of two nations to subdue, namely, that of France and the iron hand of a Bismarck government of Germany. That the workers would have won that strike had it not been for the copartnership of the two nations, there is to my mind no question. They would have overcome the divisions of opinion among themselves. They would have re-established the great national workshops that existed in Paris and throughout France in 1848. The world would have been on the highway toward an industrial democracy, had it not been for the murderous compact between Bismarck and the government of Versailles.

We are met to-night to consider the general strike as a weapon of the working class. I must admit to you that I am not well posted on the theories advanced by Jaures, Vandervelde, Kautsky, and others who write and speak about the general strike. But I am not here to theorize, not here to talk in the abstract, but to get down to the concrete subject whether or not the general strike is an effective weapon for the working class. There are vote-getters and politicians who waste their time coming into a community where 90 per cent. of the men have no vote, where the women are disfranchised 100 per cent. and where the boys and girls under age, of course, are not enfranchised. Still they will speak to these people about the power of the ballot, and they never mention a thing about the foresight, the penetration to interpret political power. They seem to lack the understanding that the broadest interpretation of political power comes

through the industrial organization; that the industrial organization is capable not only of the general strike, but prevents the capitalists from disfranchising the worker; it gives the vote to women, it re-enfranchises the black man and places the ballot in the hands of every boy and girl employed in a shop, makes them eligible to take part in the general strike, makes them eligible to legislate for themselves where they are most interested in changing conditions, namely, in the place where they work.

I am sorry sometimes that I am not a better theorist, but as all theory comes from practice you will have observed, before I proceed very long, that I know something about the general strikes in operation.

Going back not so far as the Commune of Paris, which occurred in 1871, we find the great strike in Spain in 1874, when the workers of that country won in spite of combined opposition against them and took control of the civil affairs. We find the great strike in Bilbao, in Brussels. And coming down through the halls of time, the greatest strike is the general strike of Russia, when the workers of that country compelled the government to establish a constitution, to give them a form of government—which, by the way, has since been taken from them, and it would cause one to look on the political force, of Russia at least, as a bauble not worth fighting for. They gave up the general strike for a political constitution. The general strike could and did win for them many concessions they could gain in no other way.

While across the water I visited Sweden, the scene of a great general strike, and I discovered that there they won many concessions, political as well as economic; and I happened to be in France, the home of all revolutions, during the strike on the railroads, on the state as well as the privately owned roads. There had been standing in the parliament of France many laws looking toward the improvement of the men employed on the railroads. They became dissatisfied and disgruntled with the con-

tinued dilatory practices of the politicians and they declared a general strike. The demands of the workers were for an increase of wages from three to five francs a day, for a reduction of hours and for the retroaction of the pension law. They were on strike three days. It was a general strike as far as the railroads were concerned. It tied up transportation and communication from Paris to all the seaport towns. The strike had not been on three days when the government granted every demand of the workers. Previous to this, however, Briand had issued his infamous order making the railroaders soldiers—reservists. The men went back as conscripts; and many scabs, as we call them over here (I don't know what the French call them; in England they call them "blacklegs"), were put on the roads to take the places of 3,500 discharged men.

The strike apparently was broken, officially declared off by the workers. It's true their demands had all been granted, but remember there were 3,500 of their fellow-workers discharged. The strikers immediately started a campaign to have the victimized workers reinstated. And their campaign was a part of the general strike. It was what they called the "grève perlée," or the "drop strike"—if you can conceive of a strike while everybody is at work; everybody belonging to the union receiving full time, and many of them getting overtime, and the strike in full force and very effective. This is the way it worked—and I tell it to you in hopes that you will spread the good news to your fellow-workers and apply it yourselves whenever occasion demands—namely, that of making the capitalist suffer. Now there is only one way to do that; that is, to strike him in the place where he carries his heart and soul, his center of feeling—the pocket-book. And that is what those strikers did. They began at once to make the railroads lose money, to make the government to lose money, to make transportation a farce so far as France was concerned. Before I left that country, on my first visit—and it was during the time that the

strike was on—there were 50,000 tons of freight piled up at Havre, and a proportionately large amount at every other seaport town. This freight the railroaders would not move. They did not move it at first, and when they did it was in this way; they would load a trainload of freight for Paris and by some mistake would be billed through to Lyons, and when the freight was found at Lyons, instead of being sent to the consignee at Paris it was carried straight through the town on to Bayonne or Marseilles or some other place—to any place but where it properly belonged. Perishable freight was taken out by the trainload and sidetracked. The condition became such that the merchants themselves were compelled to send their agents down into the depots to look up their consignments of freight—and with very little assurance of finding it at all. That this was the systematic work of the railroaders there is no question, because a package addressed to Merle, one of the editors of "*La Guerre Sociale*," now occupying a cell in the Prison of the Saint, was marked with an inscription on the corner. "Saboteurs please note address." This package went through posthaste. It worked so well that some of the merchants began using the name of "*La Guerre Sociale*" to have their packages immediately delivered. It was necessary for the managers of the paper to threaten to sue them unless they refrained from using the name of the paper for railroad purposes.

Nearly all the workers have been reinstated at the present time on the railroads of France.

That is certainly one splendid example of what the general strike can accomplish for the working class.

Another is the strike of the railroaders in Italy. The railroaders there are organized in one great industrial union, one card, taking into membership the stenographers, train dispatchers, freight handlers, train crews and section crews. Everyone who works on the railroad is a member of the organization; not like it is in this country, split up into as many divisions as they can pos-

sibly get them into. There they are all one. There was a great general strike. It resulted in the country taking over the railroads. But the government made the mistake of placing politicians in control, giving politicians the management of the railroads. This operated but little better than under private capitalism. The service was inefficient. They could make no money. The rolling stock was rapidly going to wreck. Then the railroad organizations issued this ultimatum to the government, and its now stands: "Turn the railroads over to us. We will operate them and give you the most efficient service to be found on railroads in any country." Would that be a success for the general strike? I rather think so.

And in Wales it was my good fortune to be there, not to theorize but to take part in the general strike among the coal miners. Previous to my coming, or in previous strikes, the Welsh miners had been in the habit of quitting work, carrying out their tools, permitting the mine managers to run the pumps, allowing the engine winders to remain at work, carrying food down to the horses, keeping the mines in good shape, while the miners themselves were marching from place to place singing their old-time songs, gathering on the meeting grounds of the ancient Druids and listening to the speeches of the labor leaders; starving for weeks contentedly, and on all occasions acting most peaceably; going back to work when they were compelled to by starvation. But this last strike was an entirely different one. It was like the shoemakers' strike in Brooklyn. Some new methods had been injected into the strike. I had spoken there on a number of occasions previous to the strike being inaugurated, and I told them of the methods that we adopted in the West, where every man employed in and around the mine belongs to the same organization; where, when we went on strike, the mine closed down. They thought that that was a very excellent system. So the strike was declared. They at once notified the engine winders, who had a separate contract with the mine owners, that they would not

be allowed to work. The engine winders passed a resolution saying that they would not work. The haulers took the same position. No one was allowed to approach the mines to run the machinery. Well, the mine manager, like the mine managers everywhere, taking unto himself the idea that the mines belonged to him, said, "Certainly the men won't interfere with us. We will go up and run the machinery." And they took along the office force. But the miners had a different notion and they said, "You can work in the office, but you can't run this machinery. That isn't your work. If you run that you will be scabbing; and we don't permit you to scab—not in this section of the country, now." They were compelled to go back to the office. There were 325 horses underground, which the manager, Llewellyn, complained about being in a starving condition. The officials of the union said, "We will hoist the horses out of the mine."

"Oh, no," he said, "we don't want to bring them up. We will all be friends in a few days."

"You will either bring up the horses now or you will let them stay there."

He said, "No, we won't bring them up now."

The pumps were closed down on the Cambria mine. 12,000 miners were there to see that they didn't open. Llewellyn started a hue and cry that the horses would be drowned, and the king sent the police, sent the soldiers and sent a message to Llewellyn asking "if the horses were still safe." He didn't say anything about his subjects, the men. Guarded by soldiers, a few scabs, assisted by the office force, were able to run the pumps. Llewellyn himself and his bookkeeping force went down and fed the horses.

Had there been an industrial organization comprising the railroaders and every other branch of industry, the mines of Wales would be closed down to-day.

We found the same condition throughout the West. We never had any trouble about closing the mines down;

and could keep them closed down for an indefinite period. It was always the craft unions that caused us to lose our fights when we did lose. I recall the first general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes, when all the mines in that district were closed down to prevent a reduction of wages. The mine owners brought in thugs the first thing. They attempted to man the mines with men carrying sixshooters and rifles. There was a pitched battle between miners and thugs. A few were killed on each side. And then the mine owners asked for the soldiers, and the soldiers came. Who brought the soldiers? Railroads manned by union men; engines fired with coal mined by union men. That is the division of labor that might have lost us the strike in the Coeur d'Alenes. It didn't lose it, however. We were successful in that issue. But in Leadville we lost the strike there because they were able to bring in scab labor from other communities where they had the force of the government behind them, and the force of the troops. In 1899 we were compelled to fight the battle over in a great general strike in the Coeur d'Alenes again. Then came the general strike in Cripple Creek, the strike that has become a household word in labor circles throughout the world. In Cripple Creek 5,000 men were on strike in sympathy with 45 men belonging to the Millmen's Union in Colorado City; 45 men who had been discharged simply because they were trying to improve their standard of living. By using the state troops and the influence of the Federal government they were able to man the mills in Colorado City with scab millmen; and after months of hardship, after 1,600 of our men had been arrested and placed in the Victor Armory in one single room that they called the "bullpen," after 400 of them had been loaded aboard special trains guarded by soldiers, shipped away from their homes, dumped out on the prairies down in New Mexico and Kansas; after the women who had taken up the work of distributing strike relief had been placed under arrest—we find then that they were able to man the mines

with scabs, the mills running with scabs, the railroads conveying the ore from Cripple Creek to Colorado City run by union men—the connecting link of a proposition that was scabby at both ends! We were not thoroughly organized. There has been no time when there has been a general strike in this country.

There are three phases of a general strike. They are:

A general strike in an industry;

A general strike in a community; or

A general national strike.

The conditions for any of the three have never existed. So how any one can take the position that a general strike would not be effective and not be a good thing for the working class is more than I can understand. We know that the capitalist uses the general strike to good advantage. Here is the position that we find the working class and the capitalists in. The capitalists have wealth; they have money. They invest the money in machinery, in the resources of the earth. They operate a factory, a mine, a railroad, a mill. They will keep that factory running just as long as there are profits coming in. When anything happens to disturb the profits, what do the capitalists do? They go on strike; don't they? They withdraw their finances from that particular mill. They close it down because there are no profits to be made there. They don't care what becomes of the working class. But the working class, on the other hand, has always been taught to take care of the capitalist's interest in the property. You don't look after your own interest, your labor power, realizing that without a certain amount of provision you can't reproduce it. You are always looking after the interest of the capitalist, while a general strike would displace his interest and would put you in possession of it.

That is what I want to urge upon the working class; to become so organized on the economic field that they can take and hold the industries in which they are employed. Can you conceive of such a thing? Is it possi-

ble? What are the forces that prevent you from doing so? You have all the industries in your own hands at the present time. There is this justification for political action, and that is, to control the forces of the capitalists that they use against us; to be in a position to control the power of government so as to make the work of the army ineffective, so as to abolish totally the secret service and the force of detectives. That is the reason that you want the power of government. That is the reason that you should fully understand the power of the ballot. Now, there isn't any one, Socialist, S. L. P., Industrial Worker or any other workingman or woman, no matter what society you belong to, but what believes in the ballot. There are those—and I am one of them—who refuse to have the ballot interpreted for them. I know, or think I know, the power of it, and I know that the industrial organization, as I stated in the beginning, is its broadest interpretation. I know, too, that when the workers are brought together in a great organization they are not going to cease to vote. That is when the workers will begin to vote, to vote for directors to operate the industries in which they are all employed.

So the general strike is a fighting weapon as well as a constructive force. It can be used, and should be used, equally as forcefully by the Socialist as by the Industrial Worker.

The Socialists believe in the general strike. They also believe in the organization of industrial forces after the general strike is successful. So, on this great force of the working class I believe we can agree that we should unite into one great organization—big enough to take in the children that are now working; big enough to take in the black man; the white man; big enough to take in all nationalities—an organization that will be strong enough to obliterate state boundaries, to obliterate national boundaries, and one that will become the great industrial force of the working class of the world. (Applause.)

I have been lecturing in and around New York now

for three weeks; my general topic has been Industrialism, which is the only force under which the general strike can possibly be operated. If there are any here interested in industrial unionism, and they want any knowledge that I have, I will be more than pleased to answer questions, because it is only by industrial unionism that the general strike becomes possible. The A. F. of L. couldn't have a general strike if they wanted to. They are not organized for a general strike. They have 27,000 different agreements that expire 27,000 different minutes of the year. They will either have to break all of those sacred contracts or there is no such thing as a general strike in that so-called "labor organization." I said, "so-called;" I say so advisedly. It is not a labor organization; it is simply a combination of job trusts. We are going to have a labor organization in this country. And I assure you, if you could attend the meetings we have had in Philadelphia, in Bridgeport last night, in Haverhill and in Harrison, and throughout the country, you would agree that industrialism is coming. There isn't anything can stop it. (Applause.)

Questions by the Audience.

Q.—Don't you think there is a lot of waste involved in the general strike in that the sufferers would be the workers in larger portion than the capitalists? The capitalist class always has money and can buy food, while the workers will just have to starve and wait. I was a strong believer in the general strike myself until I read some articles in *The Call* a while ago on this particular phase.

A.—The working class haven't got anything. They can't lose anything. While the capitalist class have got all the money and all the credit, still if the working class laid off the capitalists couldn't get food at any price. This is the power of the working class: If the workers are organized (remember now, I say "if they are organized"—by that I don't mean 100 per cent, but a good strong

minority), all they have to do is to put their hands in their pockets and they have got the capitalist class whipped. The working class can stand it a week without anything to eat—I have gone pretty nearly that long myself, and I wasn't on strike. In the meantime I hadn't lost any meals; I just postponed them. (Laughter.) I didn't do it voluntarily, I tell you that. But all the workers have to do is to organize so that they can put their hands in their pockets; when they have got *their* hands there, the capitalists can't get theirs in. If the workers can organize so that they can stand idle they will then be strong enough so that they can take the factories. Now, I hope to see the day when the man who goes *out* of the factory will be the one who will be called a scab; when the good union man will stay in the factory, whether the capitalists like it or not; when we lock the bosses out and run the factories to suit ourselves. That is our program. We will do it.

Q.—Doesn't the trend of your talk lead to direct action, or what we call revolution? For instance, we try to throw the bosses out; don't you think the bosses will strike back?

Another thing: Of course, the working class can starve eight days, but they can't starve nine. You don't have to teach the workingman how to starve, because there were teachers before you. There is no way out but fight, as I understand it. Do you think you will get your industrialism through peace or through revolution?

A.—Well, comrade, you have no peace now. The capitalist system, as peaceable as it is, is killing off hundreds of thousands of workers every year. That isn't peace. One hundred thousand workers were injured in this state last year. I do not care whether it's peaceable or not; I want to see it come.

As for starving the workers eight days, I made no such program I said that they could, but I don't want to see them do it. The fact that I was compelled to postpone a few meals was because I wasn't in the vicinity of

any grub. I suggest that you break down that idea that you must protect the boss's property. That is all we are fighting for—what the boss calls his "private property," what he calls his private interest in the things that the people must have, as a whole, to live. Those are the things we are after.

Q.—Do the Industrial Unionists believe in political action? Have they got any special platforms that they support?

A.—The Industrial Workers of the World is not a political organization.

J.—Just like the A. F. of L.?

A.—No.

Q.—*They* don't believe in any political action, either, so far as that is concerned.

A.—Yes, the A. F. of L. does believe in political action. It is a political organization. The Industrial Workers of the World is an economic organization without affiliation with any political party or any non-political sect. I as an Industrialist say that industrial unionism is the broadest possible political interpretation of the working-class political power, because by organizing the workers industrially you at once enfranchise the women in the shops, you at once give the black men who are disfranchised politically a voice in the operation of the industries; and the same would extend to every worker. That to my mind is the kind of political action that the working class wants. You must not be content to come to the ballot box on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, the ballot box erected by the capitalist class, guarded by capitalist henchmen, and deposit your ballot to be counted by black-handed thugs, and say, "That is political action." You must protect your ballot with an organization that will enforce the mandates of your class. I want political action that counts. I want a working class that can hold an election every day if they want to.

Q.—By what means could an Industrial Unionist propagate Industrial Unionism in his organization of the A. F. of L.? He would be fired out and lose his job.

A.—Well, the time is coming when he will have to quit the A. F. of L. anyway. And remember, that there are 35,000,000 workers in the United States who can't get in the A. F. of L. And when you quit you are quitting a caste, you are getting back into your class. The Socialists have been going along maintaining the Civic Federation long enough. The time has almost arrived when you will have to quit and become free men and women. I believe that the A. F. of L. won't take in the working class. They don't want the working class. It isn't a working-class organization. It's a craft organization. They realize that by improving the labor power of a few individuals and keeping them on the inside of a corral, keeping others out with initiation fees, and closing the books, and so on, that the favored few are made valuable to the capitalists. They form a little job trust. It's a system of slavery from which free people ought to break away. And they will, soon.

Q.—About the political action we had in Milwaukee: there we didn't have Industrial Unionism, we won by the ballot; and while we haven't compelled the government to pass any bills yet, we are at it now.

A.—Yes, they are at it. But you really don't think that Congressman Berger is going to compel the government to pass any bills in Congress? This Insurgent bunch that is growing up in the country is going to give you more than the reform Socialists ever asked for yet. The opportunists will be like the Labor party in England. I was in the office of the *Labor Leader* and Mr. Whiteside said to me: "Really, I don't know what we are going to do with this fellow, Lloyd-George. He has taken every bit of ground from under our feet. He has given the working class more than the Labor party had dared to ask for." And so it will be with the Insurgents, the "Progressives" or whatever they propose to call them-

selves. They will give you eight-hour laws, compensation laws, liability laws, old-age pensions. They will give you eight hours; that is what we are striking for, too—eight hours. But they won't get off the workers' backs. The Insurgents simply say. "It's cruel, the way the capitalists are exploiting the workers. Why, look! whenever they go to shear them they take off a part of the hide. We will take all the wool, but we will leave the hide." (Laughter.)

Q. (By a woman comrade)—Isn't a strike, theoretically, a situation where the workingmen lay down their tools and the capitalist class sits and waits, and they both say, "Well, what are you going to do about it?" And if they go beyond that, and go outside the law, is it any longer a strike? Isn't it a revolution?

A.—A strike is an incipient revolution. Many large revolutions have grown out of a small strike.

Q.—Well, I heartily believe in the general strike if it is a first step toward the revolution, and I believe in what you intimate—that the workers are damn fools if they don't *take* what they want, when they can't get it any other way. (Applause.)

A.—That is a better speech than I can make. If I didn't think that the general strike was leading on to the great revolution which will emancipate the working class I wouldn't be here. I am with you because I believe that in this little meeting there is a nucleus here that will carry on the work and propagate the seed that will grow into the great revolution that will overthrow the capitalist class.

Q.—How do you account for the course of the Western Federation of Miners in applying for a charter in the A. F. of L.?

A.—I wish I knew just what happened to the Western Federation of Miners when they asked for a charter from the A. F. of L. However, it's only in the shape of an application. The A. F. of L. did nothing for us while we were in jail, but the local unions that comprise the A. F.

of L.'s membership did a great deal in the way of moral support, and they furnished a great deal of money. That trial cost \$324,000—my trial. I don't look worth that much, but I am in my own estimation. Of the total amount the outside organizations contributed \$75,000, the Western Federation of Miners put up nearly \$250,000. There was a tremendous agitation throughout the country and the officials of the organization felt that the trade unions had come to them in a crisis and that they ought to join hands with the A. F. of L. movement. I feel that they assisted in that crisis, but it wasn't through the trade union machine—it was through the working class. Gompers never said a word until a Socialist in the central labor body here made him open his mouth. The officials of the trade unions never came to our relief. It was the Socialists, the S. L. P.'s, the I. W. W.'s, some trade-unionist members of local unions, local officials. It wasn't the machine. So, while I feel and I know I owe my life to the workers of the nation, it is to the working class of the nation that I am under obligation, not to any subdivision of that class. That is why I am here now. That is why I am talking working-class solidarity, because I want to see the working class do for themselves what they did for me.

Q.—What do you think about the Socialist movement in Germany?

A.—I think I know something about Germany, and if you want my opinion I will say that the Socialist movement in Germany seems to me to be a topheavy one; that is, that the force comes from the top down—that is not a purely democratic movement, coming from the working class up.

Q.—Is it the capitalist class, or is it a labor movement, or both combined, or some conditions in between them that has anything to do with the insurrection in Mexico?

A.—I think the capitalist class are responsible for the insurrection in Mexico. Incidentally, the revolutionists, Magon, Villareal, Sarabia and Rivera, and their fol-

lowers, have something to do with it, as also the local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World, there now being at this time three locals whose entire membership have gone across the line and joined the insurgents, and Berthold, one of the commandants, is an officer in the I. W. W. at Holtville, Cal. So that they have something to do with the insurrection. But the revolution in Mexico has been brought on by the capitalists, and it was no snap judgment on the part of Taft, the sending of the troops to the Mexican border. You recall two years ago Elihu Root went down to Mexico to visit Mr. Diaz, and following Root's visit, on the 16th of October a year ago, Mr. Taft went down and met with Diaz in Juarez and El Paso. Here is, to my mind, the nut of it, here is the milk in that cocoanut: the Japanese have been crowding into Mexico ever since the Japanese said they wouldn't come to the United States. They have been coming into Mexico in swarms, until now the administration looks on with a great deal of dread as to just what it means, if there is going to be a Japanese war, with the little brown fellows right down there in Mexico ready to come across the border.

Again, Mr. Taft would like to extend the territory of the United States by benevolent assimilation down to the Isthmus of Panama. He would like to take in all of Mexico and Central America. Why? Because the interests of this country—when I say "the interests" I mean the big ones, the Standard Oil and the Morgans, and even the fellows on the undercrust, like Bill Hearst—have got vast interests down in Mexico. Not that it cost them a great deal of money. Hearst has a million and a half acres down there that he estimates to be worth \$12,000,000, and he paid perhaps half a million for it. But their interests are there. Mexico is a wonderful country. The remarkable thing is that the capitalists have let it go as long as they have. It is a wonder they hadn't jumped on Mexico as the dons of Spain did, because there is no country under the sun that is as rich

as Mexico. Central America is a marshy country, but in Mexico you come to the highlands and the plateaus; and that country, situated as it is, a narrow land between the Gulf of Mexico and the Gulf of California and the Pacific gets the benefit of the atmospheric precipitation, the benefit of the waters from both sides, so that they have plenty of rain, and can raise crops of everything—from rubber, cocoa, cotton, the tropical fruits, to the very hardest of wheat. - The primeval forests in Mexico are second to nothing except the jungles of Africa. There they have great forests of mahogany, of dragons-blood wood, ironwood, copal, juniper and cedar that have never been touched. Just at this stage the reading of Prescott's "Conquest of Mexico" would be very interesting, also Humboldt's and Buckle's. The latter book I found to be perhaps not as exhaustive as Prescott's, but splendidly written. Those I read while I was on my vacation, when I didn't have anything else to do but read. (Laughter.)

The capitalists, who are responsible for *all* wars are responsible for the present trouble in Mexico. (Applause.)

The Last War.

By G. B.

Reprinted from an English Pamphlet.

The great European war has come. The truth has almost staggered our imagination, we do not know what to do and the one only definite thought is that we must win. To this end all our efforts are bent. We fight, we pray, we die, and we pay all to attain victory for our arms. It is the same with the men and women of France, of Russia, of Belgium. It is exactly the same, alas! with the men and women of Germany and Austria. We are all prompted by the same strong feelings of patriotism. We and they rejoice to give our lives that our country may be victorious, and more than all do we each rejoice if we may take the life of another.

Such is war. It is strange, is it not? Almost to a man we, in the countries concerned, have thrown aside what belief we had in charity, love, and the rest of the christian virtues and openly declare for destruction and death to our enemies.

Do not think that I am trying to preach to you Christianity—"Love your enemies," "Do good to them that despitefully use you." I am not, for have not all the peoples of Europe agreed to say "Hate your enemies," and "Blow to pieces those who despitefully use you"? Yet I believe that both you and I hate war, and would rather give our life to save a brother man, no matter of what nation, than we would give it in an attempt to kill him. What then is it that has led us so far from our

ideals? In what do we really believe? Let us think quite candidly about the whole matter.

It is certain that the German soldier whom we are trying to kill marches to war prompted by the same feelings as the Englishman. If the Englishman is doing right when he obeys the call of his king and country, and without questioning places his life at their disposal, then also is the soldier of Germany doing his duty when he acts similarly. Yet these men each try to kill the other! Something is wrong, for it is clear that if they did well in offering their services, and if they both succeed in their task, their reward will be death. Someone is to blame for bringing about such a state of affairs as this. Who is it? If a native of one of the allied countries you will probably reply without hesitation: It is the Kaiser and his gang. If you chance to have been born over the other side of the French or Russian frontier—that is, if you are a German—you will be equally positive that the fault lies with the English Government.

It is so in every war. Had you been born in Russia, it would have appeared to you certain that the government of Japan was to blame for the Russo-Japanese war a few years ago. If Japan had claimed to be your birthplace, then the Czar would have been the criminal.

Now it is clear to all of us that if there is any difference between that which is true and that which is false, between that which is and that which is not, then such differences do not change about simply because you or I were born this or that side of a certain frontier.

If patriotism is to lead us to think that the others are always wrong; it will also lead others to think that we are never right. Patriotism has ever been inclined to play this trick on people, and consequently every army that has gone out to slay or be slain has done so with the calm assurance that God is on its side.

I argue this point because I want it to be clear that if we are really to understand what is wrong and how to ensure that the last of all wars shall soon be reached, then

we must be guided in our judgment by something greater than this patriotism which allows us to see one side of the question only.

Let us frankly confess to ourselves what we have done. We are certainly not a savage or blood-thirsty people in our everyday life, and yet we are now doing, or helping others to do the bloodiest deeds that imagination and science can make possible.

The truth is we are, as a people, at that stage when we don't really believe in anything. The teachings of two thousand years ago will not fit the affairs of today. Most of us are a little afraid to say we will have no more to do with them, but we should be still more afraid to start practising them.

Turning from religion, we fall back on our faith in patriotism, but, as we have already seen, it is an ill guide to reason. Finally, we don't know in what we believe, and as a result—because we have no definite ideas about life and what it means to us and what we mean to it—we have allowed ourselves to be thus easily led into killing one another, when really we have no liking for the occupation. Those who have led us, we may be assured, have their ideas fixed and firm. The Kaiser and his gang have their views about the German empire and its future, and this makes their action purposeful and therefore powerful. The Czar of Russia and his friends, who have been hanging or imprisoning every thinker in Russia for many years, they have their reasons for joining in this great game of finance and murder. The politicians of France and England too know what they are about—but what of us? We who are not politicians, or kings, or czars, or kaisers; we who serve in the shops, who work in the factories, drive the trams—and, in a word, make and distribute all that is necessary for life; we surely have a very different view of things from those who have organized this war and who call on us to fight it.

If we had a clear idea of life and its purpose, if we knew what we wanted as clearly as do these great men,

might we not organize our own wars for our own purpose, instead of merely fighting in their wars for their purposes—much better still—might we not finally organize an universal peace?

It is because some among the workers have a clear idea of what we need and for what we ought to work that this pamphlet is written with the hope that in the near future the workers of all nations will see their way to fight their own fight against the common enemy, and will no longer kill each other because they are told to do so by their masters.

Patriots and Invasion.

Let us begin with the man in the trench, for though the war does not start with him, it depends on him. If there were no man willing to go into the trench there would be no war—a fact worthy of remembrance for future reference.

Today he is a romantic figure, his life is so unlike the monotony of our existence here at home, and, moreover, does he not wake and sleep in the presence of death?

Instinctively we feel reverence for him who stands in the shadow of death, for strangely enough we have more respect for the barren and useless end of things than for the active, fruitful course of life itself—but more of this hereafter. Let us for a minute consider the life he has lived rather than concern ourselves with the death he is possibly about to die.

Perhaps our man is a volunteer, or a reservist, and till the start of the war was engaged as a miner or railwayman, or it may be working in some factory. Possibly he has recently taken part in some strike, and side by side with his comrades of the workshop he has begun to mildly fight for a little more of the wealth of his native land than has been granted to him by those who own it. Perhaps he has begun to realize that the wealth he and his friends are day by day producing, in the factories

which their mates have built, is most of it being used to enrich those who take no part in the work and who form a class apart from and superior (as it believes) to the workers.

To the wife and kiddies whom he dearly loved he had been able to give only the bare necessities of life. He has seen them cut off from the luxuries of the world and the joys of culture. His little world, his country and his life have been rendered unbeautiful to him because the best of all which the worker can produce goes to make rich the master class. He has fought against this, fought so that he might bring a little more beauty into the lives of those he loves, and to help the class of which he is one.

And who has been opposed to him in this fight? Is it those whom he is now trying to kill, the German soldiers, or the Austrians? No, both of them, if they are workers like himself, have been suffering from the same wrongs in their own land; they have been fighting the same battles and striving in the same way against those who own the country in which they live.

Our man in the trench then, when he returns from the war—if he ever does—and when he renews his fight for a fuller life at home, will find himself face to face, not with an alien enemy, but with the British soldiers who were fighting side by side with him in the trenches. At the word of command they will fire, upon him, so great is the power of discipline in the army.

The German also, when this sad business is over will return to his daily work, and should he, with his friends, try also to capture a little of the country and its wealth for the workers, instead of the wealth-owning class, he will find soon that the German military are ready to shoot him. These facts surely force us to think. And we pause before we rejoice in the honor of dying for our country, for is it not true that we who are asked to die this glorious death in a foreign land are compelled even by the military to live but sad, inglorious lives here at home?

Such thoughts bring us within sight of an important fact, a truth that in future will make us see a quite new meaning to that word "patriotism," so loved by the politicians and all who live comfortable lives.

And what is this new, very simple truth?

It is this: the English army is not kept because of the danger that England may be taken possession of by the Germans or some other foreign power, but it is kept most of all lest this island should be taken possession of by the English. That would be the disaster of all disasters.

If those who today spend their lives in toil and service, were to turn "patriotic" in a new sense of the word, and were to tell each other that the love of their country was so great that in future they themselves meant to possess it, then indeed we should see how far goes the patriotism of those rich people who today are asking us to fight in their quarrel.

Suppose that the worker lifted his head as high as does the warlike spirit of the present day. Suppose he argued thus: The factories have been built by us and the machinery constructed by us. The factory gates have been made by us, the lock has been manufactured in our workshops, and it was we who shaped the key to fit it. What then remains for the master-class to claim? Then no longer will we work within on the terms dictated by a class who construct nothing and only can destroy.

Suppose they argued thus, and further, did something must greater than mere argument, and began to wage this real war—the war of the poor against the few who own the country and its wealth. This indeed would be the conquest of England by the English people, and that is the foe whom our present landlords and war lords would most of all hate.

Now the position of the Britisher, which we are beginning to understand, is not peculiar. The German is in the same plight, as we have already seen. The Russian, the Spaniard—it makes no difference where you

may go, there you will find a small party, who own the country, the factories, the railroads, and everything else. In every case this party is backed by hired men, who are prepared to hold their master's position and wealth by force against any who may lay claim to it. This is why in every country the great majority of the people are poor; this is why they are huddled together in dark and gloomy streets. It is for this reason that their clothes are rough and coarse, their minds immature and their bodies ill fed.

It is to this cause we must attribute the poverty and monotony which lays low the life of the great bulk of the people. This indeed we workers of the world are beginning to understand is an international matter in which we may well take part. It is no question of this or that treaty secretly signed by the representatives of the classes who own the various countries of the world. Let those who sign such treaties, see that they are kept, and if they cannot agree about these matters then let them fight. It is not our business. We have a treaty to keep, it has been signed by the blood of our fellow workers in every nation of the world, for there is not one of the governments but it has shown itself ready and over anxious to shoot down the workers directly they begin to think of recapturing the land that has been taken from them.

And these great newspapers, politicians and learned men to whom we look up with such reverence, all of them today are teaching us the virtues of patriotism, and asking us to fight side by side with our soldiers in the trenches. But tomorrow, when we have peace, these same kind people who now can think of nothing but woolen comforts and shrapnel, will be quite well satisfied when the soldier now in the trench is commanded to fire on the crowd of workers outside the factory, whose only sin has been that they loved their country and their kith and kin, so much that they have tried to reconquer some of the wealth of the land for their unhappy brothers.

Indeed is not the patriotic zeal of these great men past all understanding? Today, if the German is taken prisoner, he is treated as well as circumstances permit, and his freedom restored when the dispute is ended; but let an English factory worker escape the soldier's bullet and fall into the hands of the police and he is imprisoned, while his wife and children starve as surely as the wounded veteran thrown on the military scrap heap.

The Lesson of Boldness.

Bravery is one of the greatest of our attributes, but if it merely consists in shutting our eyes and doing what we are told, then even our courage is not worth much. To be quite frank with one another and with ourselves, we must admit that there is not much to admire in a man who, for a little cash, is ready to kill anyone whom his boss may tell him to shoot. This is the part a soldier has to play. It is his duty to obey without question, to ask if the cause is just is to commit an offence which will bring on him serious consequences.

We cannot admire the position of a man so placed though we may perhaps make excuses for it on the ground that the owners of the country have, by hoarding all the wealth, compelled him either to join the army or starve. Thus is the freedom of our Empire maintained.

The man of true courage is he who thinks as boldly as he acts and acts as boldly as he thinks. Now if we remember this we shall see that neither we, as workers, nor the rich people—the politicians, pressmen, and junkers, who have organized this war—are really brave. In thinking these latter have done excellently, boldly. In England, for example, while the war was being arranged they increased the naval expenditure up to and over £50,000,000 and formed an alliance with Russia (the most brutally reactionary government in Europe) and France, in order to meet the growing power of Germany who was busy in just the same way.

When we have thrown aside all humbug and cant, we are bound to admire the greatness of the scheme that has been thought out. We workers who have organized our petty strikes, and found nine out of ten of the strikers wavering and timidly wondering if they were quite justified in so upsetting the work-a-day world; we who have sometimes, in a strike, known a comrade to break a window or seen a policeman's bludgeon answered by a well-aimed bottle, and then have had to listen to the apologies of the labor leaders and the timid among the strikers, who declare that such actions are confined to hooligans and outsiders; we who have seen this lack of boldness can understand at once that we have much to learn from the master-class in these matters. In following their purpose, they have recognized at once that property is a detail. Even in its most beautiful form it must be removed if it stands in the way of their plans which must be carried through.

Thus Europe is strewn with ruins of towns and villages, and thousands of corpses, and all this destruction has been brought about by scientifically conceived instruments, carefully prepared for that sole purpose during many years of labor. Indeed it would seem that these politicians have the boldness to think and plan on a scale that we workers may well envy. I do not say let us imitate them, for their brutality is too great, but as we shall presently see, our cause is greater than theirs, and our plans must be drawn up with, at least, equal courage.

Let us not forget, however, that while we give credit to the upper class for their boldness in thinking out their plan, we cannot allow that they come within our definition of brave men, for their action falls far short. It is the workers who build and man their ships, their guns; and who manufacture their explosives and the whole of the engines of war. It is they who lead dreary lives to make these marvels of destruction possible. It is the workers who submit themselves in their thousands to be

blown to pieces by these weapons, it is they who bear the poverty that follows in the wake of war—and all the time the rich grow richer and, if their plan succeeds the Empire grows so great that in the workhouses of the country our veterans weep with joy in reading of our glory!

Thus we see that it is the worker who has the courage to act boldly, but it is the master-class who can courageously think, and so we find the working-class constantly doing great things, but never becoming great itself, because it is merely fulfilling the plans of others, and adding to their splendor.

Great is the power created by the workers who spend their lives in armament factories, but it is power which will be turned against them if one day, being in need of bread (baked by their comrades), they should attempt to take it.

Rich are the palaces the workers can build and furnish with the utmost wealth, but should they attempt to enter them they will meet the bludgeon which they have made for the policeman, and be conducted to the prison they have so substantially built, and locked in by the lock they have so carefully constructed.

The artistic dress made by the hands of ill-paid seamstresses is passed on to grace the figure of some woman in the upper class and to assist her in the belief that she is superior to the workers who created it.

Verily our blessings have become our curses. The more we produce, the greater our courage and endurance, the greater is the power which oppresses us. And why are we in this dilemma? It is because, though we are great in the power of action, we are mighty small and timid in our ability to think.

We have allowed others to plan—and they have done it in the only way we might expect. They have decided that the palaces, the factories, the houses and the land belong to them. This decision they call the law and, as we have seen, scientific force, from the bludgeon to the

aeroplane, awaits him who disturbs the "peace"—for such is this state of affairs commonly and comically called.

Thus we are learning slowly, and very, very painfully. Our masters have long taught us the lesson of humility, but now they have set us the example of quite another creed. We see them ready to sacrifice countless lives, to secure the success of their well laid plans, and by the side of their efforts our little timid movements seem shamefully small, even as their purpose seems mean and petty beside ours.

Inspired by great ideals, our plan of action should be worthy of them, we should organize, and fight on as bold and brave a scale as they.

It is not intellect, but courage that we lack. They are no more wise than we. The policy of the politician everywhere is to increase the size and influence of his country for the benefit of big financiers, and as there is but one planet to divide between them, it follows that each nation can grow only at the expense of another. It needs little intellect to grasp that fact. The politician understands it, and beyond that he uses his intellect no further, but simply accumulates strength to fight.

The scheme by which a small group in every country are made the owners of all things, while the remainder who are forced to work are allowed from their masters' warehouses less than enough to go round is, similarly, not intellectually brilliant, but it is audacious, and it is backed by force.

If now we turn to the workers' plan of action and draw it up boldly without fearing to destroy old ideas as ruthless as the master class can destroy life and wealth, if we cast aside our humility and timidity, we shall find that our plan of action is so simple, and so plain and obvious that the meanest among us, if he has courage enough, certainly has intellect enough to understand it.

The Conquest of England.

Let us leave it to the bomb-throwers and war lords to boast of their love of peace. We will leave it to the Christians of the churches who have pronounced their blessing on the war, to boast of their humility and their habit of turning the other cheek to the smiter. We will be bold enough to proclaim that we know no peace while men and women of every land are ill-clothed, badly housed and starving in the midst of plenty. What! would they plunge Europe into war because of some broken treaty! Then, my brothers, what will we do when we think of the broken lives around us? Is it war or peace while the babies die in the slums and the rich grow richer on the cheap labor of their mothers.

It is war we proclaim, the last war, the international war in which the workers of all lands shall be united against the invaders—the rich who have seized the land and lived on the labor of the poor.

This is the war that remains yet to be fought. Is it possible? Nay, it is inevitable. It may be delayed but it cannot be prevented. Already and everywhere dimly the worker sees the injustice of his lot and recognizes his folly in laboring so hard, while he enjoys so little of the fruit of his work. Many a man in each army engaged today knows in his heart that the enemy soldiers are men just as he is, no better and no worse. These dim thoughts only lack boldness, and they would make of each such soldier a revolutionist, who would refuse to fire in such a cause.

It is by this growing courage that the industrial workers will presently form their army—not indeed an army like that which their masters possess, where the soldiers blindly obey their officers and care not if their cause is right or wrong. The workers' army organized for a different purpose must be a very different affair.

To understand this we only have to contrast the position in which the bosses and big people find themselves today with that which we, the workers, occupy. When

we make this comparison we shall find to our surprise, that though we have been letting them have it all their own way, their position is weak compared to ours.

It is we who manufacture the wealth, and it is they who enjoy it. It is they who organize wars, but as we have already seen it is we who supply the material and fight them. It is they who order our comrades of the army to shoot us down, but it is we who manufacture the rifle. Every time it is our activity, but we have allowed them to think it out.

We may understand from this that our power is of a very different nature from theirs. They give the order, but there is no strength in that alone. It is the prison, the bludgeon, the rifle and the maxim gun—all of them instruments of destruction—these which lurk behind the order and the law, are the real power of the master class.

The power of the worker is of quite a different nature and much more effective. He, when he is bold enough to know it, is master of the situation because he is the maker of all the things upon which the master class depends. Their power is that of destruction, ours is that of construction. Their indeed is the army of death, and ours the army of life.

They will keep from war upon us only so long as the factory worker does his allotted task and produces what the master needs. We will refrain from war upon them only when the factory workers are free and when the people of the slums come out to work with us and enjoy the world's wealth.

This is the class war, about which the socialists have so often talked but which they have never waged. It is the only war which can bring the final settlement, and until it is reached nation after nation will rise and fall, and in the process millions will be slaughtered and millions more degraded and depraved in the trade of murder.

It is worth while here to lay special stress on this point, especially as some of our amateur recruiting agents have tried to hearten others to give their lives in the present conflict, with the promise that it shall be the last. Let no one believe it. So long as political governments last there will be wars.

Is it to be supposed that England will maintain unquestioned for all time her position as ruler of the waves and owner of vast colonies all over the world, when we know that young and vigorous races and nations are developing? So long as national ideals, the world over, lead men only to rejoice in the extension of their nation, so long will there be ceaselessly war and preparations for wars.

So long as there are sufficient men who are willing to give themselves in military service to those who own the country in which they live, and others who undertake to supply all the necessities of war, just so long, we may be sure, will the masters be willing to use them to fight their quarrels and settle their disputes.

Wars will cease only when the people have higher national ambition than that of capturing foreign lands, when men are not willing to fight in the quarrels of nations, when the people are no longer contented to have their country owned by a class which lives entirely on their labor. In a word the last war will be fought when the workers of all the various nations begin to capture their own countries from the real enemy which now holds them—an enemy so brutal that not only is it ever prepared to wage relentless war against the workers, but in time of peace commits more outrages than the most savage armies of the most ruthless war lords. Figures and facts condemn them beyond the lowest damnation.

What German atrocity can equal that committed by the master class here at home, which enjoys the wealth of the land while millions struggle with and even succumb to poverty? What German outrage can be equal

to that which is told of in our infantile mortality returns? None, except those same atrocities which are committed by the German rich on the German poor in their own country.

May we and they soon have the patriotism to conquer our own countries from those who now hold them.

To Defeat the Invaders.

Before summing up and pronouncing our final sentence, it may be well to consider one other objection that possibly will be raised. Suppose, it may be urged, that even if we admit all this that has so far been argued, yet the fact remains that the Germans are at our gates. Are we not even to resist this invasion? Let us see where it leads us if we agree that at all costs the Germans must be defeated. It is clear to begin with that, if we are able-bodied, we shall first join the army, and in addition try to persuade others to do the same. After we have taken these steps any opinions we may have against the military system we had better keep to ourselves. We become as hopelessly involved and responsible for the whole thing as was Kitchener himself or any other military enthusiasts, for we have admitted that under circumstances over which we have no control, it becomes necessary to fight.

The military man has understood that if fighting is necessary it is also desirable to prepare for a fight—hence the permanent army and navy. If therefore we admit that the German army must be defeated by that of England we are practically agreeing to the whole army system. Hence we see that there must be no compromise, we must allow those who have organized the war to fight it themselves. It is no concern of ours.

A yet more fatal result there is to this so thoughtless attitude of so many, who while half opposed to war still maintain that we must defeat the Germans. The politicians in this democratic land are very fond of what is termed secret diplomacy, by which the people are kept

in ignorance as to the friendships and enmities of the various governments. By this plan our government may be secretly pledged by our politicians to fight, say, with France against Germany without our knowing anything about it, and without parliament itself knowing.

When we are called upon to fight wars so arranged, are we going to reply by saying: "Well, since you have already picked the quarrel we will fight?" Is not such an answer absolutely asking the ministers to continue their secret diplomacy?

What does it really imply? It means: if you were to ask us before things were settled we might disagree with you, but since you settle the matter first we will not dispute it, and will fight for you. And so, taught by the crowd, the politicians continue to settle matters first, and to manufacture the causes of war in private, knowing that the people will be willing to fight when the enemy is on the march. What is the alternative it may still be asked. How can we do other than defeat the Germans by helping our government, even though we may know that the latter is composed of the politicians who, tomorrow will send the army to shoot us?

Indeed the only other course that we can take is that which I have tried to indicate, and that is to join the army of workers, who would oppose in every possible way all invaders as much those who now possess our country as those who are quarreling for it. Each government wants it in order that the rich men of its country may get richer by the labor of the worker.

It is, as I have insisted throughout, the business of the workers to resist the invader, but it is no concern of his to help one invader against the other.

Indeed there is an old saying that when thieves fall out honest men come by their own. A few workers seemed to understand this when the war started, including those who were responsible for supplying coal to our battleships. They refused to undertake the extra work entailed by the war. But alas! Where small signs of

understanding did appear we had the pitiful sequel of the leaders apologizing to the politicians for this slight interference in their ruthless murder plans.

Unimportant as these one or two strikes were, however, they ought to have been enough to remind us of our power. The labor movement of this country has been composed of men who faithfully followed their leaders without question. They have fought many brave struggles, but they have also been led into many shameful failures, like that of the miners' strike, for which their leaders stand utterly condemned. Now, after cheering, year after year, the speeches made by their orators, declaring that the workers of all lands were united, they have been persuaded by these same leaders to allow the rich of all lands to lead out the workers of all lands to fight each other.

Suppose instead of this labor movement being composed of men who are led by leaders, it was made up by those who, not being blind, needed no leaders. Suppose those who formed it had their common purpose, and that that purpose was to conquer the world for the workers. Their reply to the war minister's call to arms would then be clear, would it not?

We—for it would be we who should form this movement—should be able first of all to rely upon our friends of other nations, for always our movement must be international. We, like our foreign brothers, should tell our war lords that they might fight their own battle. The coal miners would politely suggest that they might dig their own coal, while the transport workers would invite them to carry their own troops to whatever part of the world they desired.

Surely this is the answer we ought to be preparing ourselves to make. It would create a revolutionary situation, and no government faced with such internal difficulties, even though the workers were not yet strong enough to make a revolution, would dare to go to war. This would be the surest way to prevent an invasion, for

certain it is that even though our comrades abroad were not perhaps so strong in their organization as we were or we so bold as they, yet the workers would still be able to organize sufficient militant strikes to make their government very reluctant to send their army out of the country.

Have we not seen by the huge military camps established in Liverpool, London and other great centers during the recent great strike period, that the master class feels none too safe, even when the workers are, as now, entirely unarmed? It would need but a comparatively small labor movement in England and Germany at the present time to make these governments very quickly change their minds as to who was the real enemy.

The danger of rebellion at home would make a fellow-feeling between the opposing governments, and they would very quickly agree to withdraw their armies to shoot their own countrymen. True it is, that we are not yet strong enough to thus defeat war and invasion, but great things have small beginnings, and if we are to wait until we can be successful before we throw our energies into a movement, we shall find that we are always behind. If we are but a few in this movement, which will by and by make war and oppression impossible, it is certain that we should exercise no more influence by joining the hosts of English, French, and Russian invaders than we have by raising the standard of revolt in our countries at home. Powerful, or even powerless then, as the workers' movement may now be, it should take up its stand of definite and uncompromising opposition to the war.

War is a part of the present system, but it is one of its most vulnerable parts, for the system is based on violence, and when the means of violence are fully occupied, a great opportunity occurs for those who have been kept in subjection and poverty by them at home. When we are prepared to take advantage of this opportunity, we shall find that we have not only rendered war im-

possible, but that we are perhaps, powerful enough to capture our country from the invaders who now hold it.

Hate Thy Neighbor.

The task which is before the workers is indeed no easy matter, but it is not so difficult as it at first appears. The army is not so powerful a weapon as it sometimes seems. Already the master class have realized that a comradeship instinctively springs up and will take the place of the hatred which it would like to see existing between the soldier and his victim. Referring once more to the recent strike period, the "Don't Shoot" leaflet will probably be remembered. This was a quite simple appeal to the workers not to kill their comrades of the working class when ordered to do so by their masters.

It is well known that some few soldiers refused to fire on the crowds of workers, and the masters were so enraged that they imprisoned those who had distributed the leaflet, in which had been revived the old teaching, "Thou shalt not kill"—a dogma ever hated by the master class. Several historical examples might be quoted where the army—the last support of the masters—has failed at the critical moment. Thus for example, in the famous Commune of Paris, when the people of France made such a brilliant effort to put into practice some of the ideas expressed above, the Parisian soldiers made friends with the "mob" and refused to fire. These facts all indicate how insecure a weapon the master class hold. At any moment the soldier may become a real, live thinking man, and the moment he begins to think for himself, he is useless to those whom he now serves.

In the present war there have been certain symptoms which must have filled the war lords with alarm. The daily papers have done their dirty duty with enthusiasm, if with some stupidity. Never a chance has been missed to stir up hatred between the two parties.

According to the German papers the English are little better than savages, and according to those of England

the Germans are a little worse. Yet in spite of the huge campaign of lies and all the efforts of the good, respectable Christian people of England and Germany, to make the working class of each country hate the workers of the other, they have but partially succeeded. In spite of the fact that they have, to their satisfaction, succeeded in getting the workers of so many countries to slay each other, nevertheless the war furnishes some remarkable examples of a comradeship between the soldiers of enemy trenches. Is it not a proof that this comradeship has a tremendous vitality and wish to live, when we see it springing into existence and bearing fruit in such hell holes of hatred as are the battlefields?

It is more than worth while to give some examples of the friendship of German and English soldiers.

All the following quotations have been taken from letters written to friends at home and subsequently published in the *Times*. Many others might have been quoted, indeed these have been taken from the issue of January 2 alone. Some of those not quoted draw special attention to the fact that the truce was made by the men themselves, without the knowledge of the officers.

An officer of a Highland regiment was evidently taken by surprise by this friendly movement among his men. He says:

"I was horrified at discovering some of our men actually had gone out, imbued more with the idea of seeing the German trenches than anything else; they met half-way, and there ensued the giving of cigarettes and receiving of cigars, and they arranged (the private soldiers of one army and the private soldiers of the other) a 48-hours' armistice. It was all most irregular, but the Peninsular and other wars will furnish many such examples; eventually both sides were induced to return to their respective trenches. . . . Christmas Day was very misty, and out came those Germans to wish us 'Happy Day'; we went out, told them we were at war with them, and that really they must play the game and

pretend to fight; they went back, but again attempted to come towards us, so we fired over their heads, they fired back a shot to show they understood, and the rest of the day passed quietly in this part of the line, but in others a deal of fraternizing went on. So there you are: all this talk of hate, all this fury at each other that has raged since the beginning of the war, quelled and stayed by the magic of Christmas."

The letter from an officer of the North Staffordshire Regiment is peculiarly interesting, because the writer has observed that natural and easy friendship among the "enemies," which is existing underneath the artificial and unreal hate and fury to which the last writer has referred.

"We had been calling to one another for some time Christmas wishes and other things. I went out and they shouted 'No shooting,' and then somehow the scene became a peaceful one. . . . All were very nice, and we fixed up that the men should not go near their opponents' trenches, but remain about midway between the lines. The whole thing is extraordinary. The men were all so natural and friendly. . . . The Germans are Saxons, a good-looking lot, only wishing for peace, in a manly way, and they seem in no way at their last gasp. I was astonished at the easy way in which our men and theirs got on with each other. We have just knocked off for dinner and have arranged to meet again afterwards until dusk, when we go in again and have songs until 9 p. m., when 'war' begins again. I wonder who will start the shooting. They say 'fire in the air and we will,' and such things, but, of course, it will start, and tomorrow we shall be at it hard, killing one another."

The third letter from which I quote is that of a Belgian soldier, and its general tone comes as a pleasant contrast to the hatred which our good people have been trying to foster in that quarter.

"At dawn the Germans displayed a placard over the trenches on which was written 'Happy Christmas,' and

then, leaving their trenches, unarmed, they advanced towards us singing and shouting 'Comrades!' No one fired. We also had left our trenches and, separated from each other only by the half-frozen Yser, we exchanged presents. They gave us cigars, and we threw them some chocolate. Thus almost fraternizing we passed all the morning. Unlikely, indeed, but true. I saw it, but thought I was dreaming. They asked us to spend Christmas without firing, and the whole day passed without any fighting."

The last quotation is from an officer of the Rifle Brigade. In some respects it is the most interesting because of the type of man the writer shows himself to be. He tells that the Germans "had got little Christmas-trees lining all along the parapet of their trench," and adds "I was all for not allowing the blighters to enjoy themselves." Later, he rejoices that he had his excuse and "I quickly lined up my platoon and had those Christmas-trees down and out."

Yet in spite of his unfriendly feelings this officer is forced to realize the comradeship which exists, and the all important result that it some day must have. English and Germans unite to bury the German dead.

And then a little later:

"We gave them some wooden crosses for them, which completely won them over, and soon the men were on the best of terms and laughing. Several of the Saxons spoke very fair English, and some hailed from London, much to our Cockneys' delight, and talk became general about 'Peecadeely,' etc."

"It's really an extraordinary state of affairs. We had an inter-platoon game of football in the afternoon, a cap comforter stuffed with straw did for the ball, much to the Saxons' amusement."

"It is a rum show: I believe politicians will be wrong now, and that the war will come to an end because everyone will get fed up and refuse to go on shooting!"

Will they? What excellent good sense they would

show if they did. Nothing so well as these examples of friendship and comradeship among the men of the enemy armies can illustrate better the fact that the war is not ours or theirs. It is an affair of the governments and we have been asked to be fools enough to fight it. How thin is the mask of hatred that the rich and respectable have managed to stretch over the faces of the opposing countries! Through the mask we are constantly seeing appears that look of comradeship and fellow feeling which is destined by and by to bring together the workers of all lands in a common brotherhood. How clearly we may see how the last war will be reached—when the workers "will be fed up and refuse to go on shooting."

The Final Victory.

Our program is now becoming clear. It is based upon two simple facts. The first is that the human race has reached a stage where it can command more wealth and luxury, and combat suffering far better than any other race of animals on the earth. The second is that the human race has reached a stage where it is beset with more poverty and suffers more pain than any other race of animals.

These are the great outstanding facts that demand attention. To be so powerful to produce richness and yet so powerless to prevent abject poverty and starvation is surely an absurdity. At the whim of any rich man a palace of infinite beauty and luxury is hewn out of the stone and takes shape and form, but the thousands in our slums live and die generation after generation in fruitless longing, for they are ever surrounded in their hovels by dirt and poverty.

It is to this great contradiction in human affairs—on the one hand our undoubted power to achieve great things of infinite worth, and on the other our inability even to fill our stomachs or supply ourselves with clean beds on which to lie—it is this that demands the first attention of all who would work in any great cause. It

is exactly this subject, however, that is avoided by all our great movements, which are financed by the very people who have captured the wealth of our countries, and who thus produce poverty.

The churches, for example, are engaged for the most part in bitter quarrels among themselves, as to the best correct ceremony by which to show their love of God and humanity. They touch the problem only in sometimes giving to the poor in the name of charity and of God, a little of the wealth which these same poor have produced. But for the law and the brute force behind it, which the churches uphold, this wealth would never have been taken in the first place from those who needed it.

The politician it is perhaps most of all who is anxious to keep the people from noticing and dealing with this greatest of all questions. One of the most useful of the many tricks he has for diverting public attention from the real issue is that which he calls patriotism. We have seen how little his patriotism is worth to us, but it is of great value to him. Sometimes it has to be carried to the extreme of war, and at others it takes the form of a huge sham fight on Tariff Reform and Free Trade, but all the time the politicians of all parties and all countries agree that the poor shall be kept from the wealth they produce.

"Look!" cries the cunning candidate at the election. "Look at the German waiter, he is taking your job—the very bread out of your mouths." And thus we are got to quarrel with our German comrade, as to whether he or we shall have the honor of carrying the dinner up to our master. How much better to shake hands and eat the dinner between us without taking it upstairs at all!

Is it not clear that they would try to keep us quarrelling among ourselves as to which shall have the pleasure of working for and waiting on them, whereas we should be uniting to work for ourselves and one another, and those dependent on us.

There is the whole problem. It is as simple as you like, and when we understand it and face it there will be an end of poverty, of slums and of wars and, in short, of the great bulk of human suffering.

Today, the genius and ability of the human race is used to enrich a few and thus make poor the many. It is our work to see that in the future those who create all the greatness shall themselves become great in enjoying what they produce.

Is not this more worth fighting for than the cause to which thousands of lives are being sacrificed today? This is indeed the real purpose and meaning of the labor movement, and thus we begin to see that there is much more to be done than merely refusing to shoot in the wars which are run by the master class, although such action may be a good starting point.

If there is ever to be a time when there is no poverty and no slums, in other words, if the time is coming when the wealth manufactured in our factories will be kept and used by those who labor, and when the land will be free to those who alone can make it bear fruit, then it is certain that that class which now owns it will die hard, and fight to maintain its happy existence living on the labor of the poor.

It is for this coming struggle that the army of workers should be preparing itself today. By refusing to take part in the present war they might have confused their real enemies, strengthened their own forces and come a step nearer the desired end, but the real task before them is the war of the mines, the railways, the factories and the fields. When this has been fought successfully, so that those who use them enjoy the wealth that they yield, then we shall find there is no master class to make wars and slay us by thousands. There will be no longer the military power, the prisons and our law courts, by which the poor are kept in their slums. Men and women will be free, united by the common purpose of building

up a rich and beautiful community, in which they shall have their place and play their part.

We believe that the factory workers should organize and run their factories themselves, and that an agreement between this section of workers and the transport group would bring about the distribution of what was produced.

If extensions to factories were needed, those who worked in them would be best judges of what was required and then would apply to the builders' union.

Thus by these agreements and activities we should see developing a new complex society, in which there were no bosses living on the labor of the workers, and in which all were free, and where there was no poverty, because the workers would be laboring only to supply the needs of the people, and not slaving as now to produce profits and luxuries for the masters.

It is towards this end, of liberty and wide-spread happiness on earth, that the Industrial Workers of the World struggle today.

I. W. W. PREAMBLE

The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace as long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people, and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life.

Between these two classes a struggle must go on until the workers of the world organize as a class, take possession of the earth and the machinery of production, and abolish the wage system.

We find that the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades unions unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class. The trade unions foster a state of affairs which allows one set of workers to be pitted against one another in wage wars. Moreover, the trade unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers.

These conditions can be changed and the interest of the working class upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all.

Instead of the conservative motto, "A fair day's wages for a fair day's work," we must inscribe on our banner the revolutionary watchword, "Abolition of the wage system."

It is the historic mission of the working class to do away with capitalism. The army of production must be organized, not only for the every-day struggle with capitalists, but also to carry on production when capitalism shall have been overthrown. By organizing industrially we are forming the structure of the new society within the shell of the old.

For all further information write WM. D. HAYWOOD, General Secretary-Treasurer Industrial Workers of the World, 1001 W. Madison, Chicago, Ill.

THE DEADLY

A DECLARATION.

By the Industrial Workers of the World.

We, the Industrial Workers of the World, in Convention assembled, hereby reaffirm our adherence to the principles of Industrial Unionism, and re-dedicate ourselves to the unflinching prosecution of the struggle for the abolition of wage slavery, and the realization of our ideals in Industrial Democracy.

With the European War for conquest and exploitation raging and destroying the lives, class consciousness, and unity of the workers, and the ever-growing agitation for military preparedness clouding the main issues, and delaying the realization of our ultimate aim with patriotic, and, therefore, capitalistic aspirations, we openly declare ourselves determined opponents of all nationalistic sectionalism or patriotism, and the militarism preached and supported by our one enemy, the Capitalist Class. We condemn all wars, and, for the prevention of such, we proclaim the anti-militarist propaganda in time of peace, thus promoting class solidarity among the workers of the entire world, and, in time of war, the General Strike in all industries.

We extend assurances of both moral and material support to all the workers who suffer at the hands of the Capitalist Class for their adhesion to the principles, and call on all workers to unite themselves with us, that the reign of the exploiters may cease and this earth be made fair through the establishment of the Industrial Democracy.

WAR'S TOLL.

Washington, D. C., March 11.—There have been 5,719,400 casualties in the entente armies and 3,384,800 in the Teutonic forces since the war began, according to authoritative figures obtained here today. The classified figures by countries follow:

	Wounded, Captured			
	Killed.	Disabled.	Missing.	Total.
England	205,400	102,500	107,500	415,400
France	870,000	540,800	400,000	1,810,800
Russia	1,500,000	784,200	800,000	3,084,200
Italy	105,000	49,000	55,000	209,000
Belgium	50,000	22,000	40,000	112,000
Serbia	60,000	28,000	88,000
Totals	2,790,400	1,526,500	1,402,500	5,719,400

PARALLEL

PLEDGE GIVEN TO NATION BY AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR.

We, the officers of the National and International Trades Unions of America, in national conference assembled, in the capital of our nation, hereby pledge ourselves in peace or in war, in stress or in storm, to stand unreservedly by the standards of liberty and the safety and preservation of the institutions and ideals of our republic.

In this solemn hour of our nation's life, it is our earnest hope that our republic may be safeguarded in its unswerving desire for peace; that our people may be spared the horrors and the burdens of war; that they may have the opportunity to cultivate and develop the arts of peace, human brotherhood and a higher civilization.

But, despite all our endeavors and hopes, should our country be drawn into the maelstrom of the European conflict, we, with these ideals of liberty and justice herein declared, as the indispensable basis for national policies, offer our services to our country in every field of activity to defend, safeguard and preserve the republic of the United States of America against its enemies, whomsoever they may be, and we call upon our fellow workers and fellow citizens in the holy name of labor, justice, freedom and humanity to devotedly and patriotically give like service.

	Wounded, Captured			
	Killed.	Disabled.	Missing.	Total.
Germany	893,200	450,000	245,000	1,588,200
Austria-Hungary	523,100	355,000	591,000	1,469,100
Turkey	127,000	110,000	70,000	307,000
Bulgaria	7,500	7,000	6,000	20,500
Totals	1,550,800	922,000	912,000	3,384,800

ON MARCH 11, 1917.

TEN MILLION HUMAN LIVES STAND AS A MONUMENT TO THE NATIONAL PATRIOTIC STUPIDITY OF THE WORKING CLASS OF EUROPE! WHO WILL BE TO BLAME IF THE WORKERS OF AMERICA ARE BETRAYED AND LED INTO THE BLOODIEST SLAUGHTER OF HISTORY? WHO?

INSTRUCTIONS HOW TO ORGANIZE.

To secure a Charter of the Industrial Workers of the World, get the names of twenty actual wage workers. Those who make a living by working for wages.

All who sign the Charter Application Blank pledge themselves to be in accord with the principles of the I. W. W., as outlined in the Preamble.

The Charter fee is ten dollars. This covers the cost of all books and supplies needed to fully equip a Union of twenty-five members.

Dues paid by the Union to the General Organization are fifteen cents per member per month.

If those who sign the Charter Application Blank are employed in the same industry they will be chartered as an Industrial Union Branch, with jurisdiction over all wage workers employed in that industry in that locality. If the signers of the Charter Application are employed in two or more industries, they will be chartered as a Recruiting Union. Recruiting Unions are temporary organizations, formed for the purpose of having organizations to carry on the educational work necessary for the formation of Industrial Unions.

The methods used in getting a Union started depend upon the circumstances in the locality where the Union is to be formed. You can call a meeting, advertising the same. If there are any among you who are able to explain the principles of the I. W. W., have them do so to those who attend the meeting.

After the explanation has been made, you can call upon all those present, who are in accord with the principles of the Organization, to come forward and sign the Charter Application. Or you can circulate the Charter Application among those with whom you come in contact, and explain the principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to them individually. If they desire to organize, have them sign their names and addresses on the Charter Application.

When you have twenty names, or more, you can notify them to attend the meeting, form a temporary organization by electing a temporary Secretary and Chairman. Collect the Charter fee from those who sign the Application, forward the same to this office, with the Application. The Charter and supplies will be sent to you at once.

In forwarding the Charter Application be sure to specify in what industry those who sign the Blank are employed, so we will know how to make out the Charter.

Trusting that the above will be of assistance to you in organizing your fellow workers, I am,

Yours for Industrial Freedom,

WM. D. HAYWOOD,
General Secretary-Treasurer.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD,
1001 West Madison Street,
Chicago, Illinois.

I. W. W. LITERATURE

I. W. W. Publishing Bureau
1001 W. Madison St., Chicago

Pamphlets at 10c Each, or \$3.50 Per Hundred

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Proletarian and Petit Bourgeois (Lewis).
Industrial Unionism, the Road to Freedom (Ettor).
Eleven Blind Leaders (Williams).
One Big Union, The Greatest Thing on Earth.
Advancing Proletariat (Woodruff).
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Patriotism and the Worker (Herve).
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The General Secretary's Report of the Tenth Convention.
Revolutionary Writings (Kelly Cole).

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Sabotage (Pouget), 25c per copy..... 10.00 per 100
Trial of a New Society (Ebert), 50c per copy.. 35.00 per 100
When the Leaves Come Out (Chaplin), 50c
per copy 35.00 per 100

I. W. W. Leaflets

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5c per copy\$1.00 per 100
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Hotel and Restaurant Workers (leaflet)..... .25 per 100
Tips to Railroaders (leaflet)..... .25 per 100
Metal and Machinery Workers (leaflet)..... .25 per 100
Domestic Workers (leaflet)25 per 100
To Colored Working Men and Women..... .30 per 100

Songs and Music by Joe Hill.

25c copy; 5 for \$1.00; 10 or more, 15c each.
Workers of the World, Awaken!
The Rebel Girl.
Don't Take My Papa Away from Me.

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1892

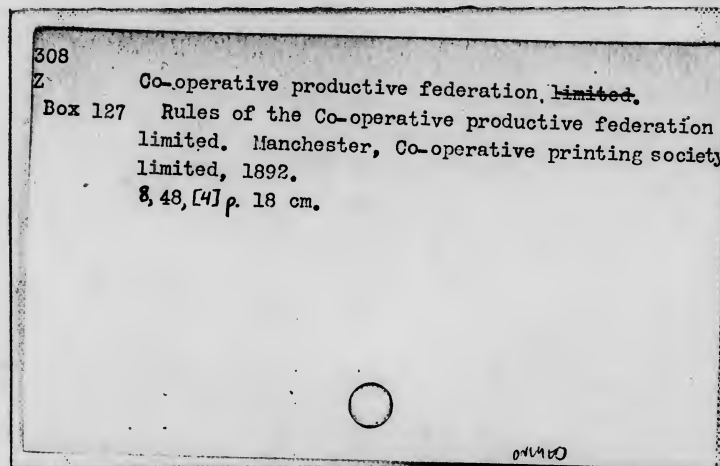
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REG. No., 2,314 R.

RULES

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OF THE

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CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED.

MANCHESTER:

CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING SOCIETY LIMITED, 92, CORPORATION STREET.

1892.

REG. No., 2,314 R.

RULES
OF THE
CO-OPERATIVE
PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION
LIMITED.

MANCHESTER:
Co-OPERATIVE PRINTING SOCIETY LIMITED, 92, CORPORATION STREET.
1892.

RULES.

(a) The Rules hereto annexed, entitled General Rules for an Industrial and Provident Productive Society, and numbered 1 to 140, shall be the Rules of this society, subject to the Special Rules thereof.

(b) The Rules next following, numbered I. to XVIII., are the Special Rules of the society, to which the General Rules therein referred to are respectively subject, and the interpretation clause thereof applies.

THE SPECIAL RULES OF THE SOCIETY.

I. General Rule 3.—*The Name* of the society is the CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED.

II. General Rule 3.—*The Special Objects* of the society are to carry on the trades of commercial agents and bankers.

III. General Rule 4.—*The Registered Office* of the society shall be at Thompson's Mill, Fulton Street, Bradford, in the county of York. The society shall be registered to do business in the United Kingdom.

IV. General Rules 7, 8, and 27.—*No Individual*, other than the original members, shall be admitted, except in virtue of a resolution of a general meeting, and no greater number of shares than is from time to time authorised by any such meeting shall be allotted to any individual. Every society shall hold not less than one share for each five members, except exempted by the resolution of a general meeting.

V. General Rule 10.—*Every Application for Admission* by a society shall state the provisions of its rules for the application of profits, and no society shall be admitted which does not admit labour to participate in the division of profits by its rules.

VI. General Rules 22 and 37.—*The Shares* shall be of the nominal value of £1 each, on which 1s. shall be paid on allotment, and the remainder by such calls as may be from

Aug 21, 1925 H.L.

time to time authorised by any general meeting on the proposal of the committee, payable at not less than one calendar month's notice. All shares shall be transferable only.

VII. General Rule 81.—*The Society may Receive* on deposit from members or others, under such conditions as the committee agree to, any sum not exceeding twenty thousand pounds sterling.

VIII. General Rule 82.—(1) *The Committee may Employ* or invest any of the funds of the society in any manner stated in schedule III. of the Act, *and shall*, on the first Mondays in February and August in each year, make out and keep conspicuously hung up in the registered office, and every other place of business of the society, a statement, in the form contained in such schedule, or as near thereto as the circumstances admit, *and may* appoint such persons as they select to be trustees for the society of any such investment.

(2) *The Committee shall*, as soon as is practicable, organise a scheme of advances to be made to society members, repayable either by instalments, according to the method adopted by Benefit Building Societies, or otherwise as may be agreed.

IX. General Rules 68 and 77.—*There shall be two Ordinary Business Meetings* in each year, of which the first shall be held at the registered office of the society as soon as practicable after the society is registered, and the subsequent meetings at such times and places as are fixed by such meetings respectively, or in default by the committee. Five shall be a quorum.

X. General Rule 72.—*Notice* of every ordinary general meeting shall be sent to the registered address of each member not less than fourteen clear days before the time of meeting.

XI. General Rule 81.—*Any Individual Member* may attend and take part in any general meeting, but shall not have any vote thereat in his own right except for the appointment of the committee at the first general meeting, or be counted in the quorum of any such meeting after the first.

XII. General Rules 85 and 86.—*The Committee shall consist* of such number, not more than seven, as the general meetings fix from time to time, and subject thereto of three

persons; one member shall retire at each ordinary business meeting.

XIII. General Rule 90.—*No Contract* under which the society can incur any liability for rent exceeding £100 per annum, or for the purchase of any land, shall be made without the previous authority of a special general meeting.

XIV. General Rules 101 and 102.—*The Committee shall*, at their first meeting after these rules are registered, and in each year subsequently, appoint one of their members to be president of the society, and shall similarly fill up any vacancy in the office, and shall, from time to time, appoint and remove the secretary, who need not be a member or delegate, and shall make such provision as they think expedient for discharge of the duties of treasurer.

XV. General Rule 107.—*Conduct of Business*.—1. *The society shall not* (except on any occasion incidental to its ordinary business, all of which shall be specially reported to the next general meeting) *purchase or sell any article on its own account, but shall act in all cases solely as agent for its members*, for which purpose it shall be the duty of the committee—

(a) To prepare and circulate regularly among the Co-operative Distributive Societies a list—herein called *The List*—of all the goods manufactured by any society member at the time, either with or without the prices attached thereto as such members respectively determine, in which no advertisement of any goods competing with goods manufactured by any society member of the Federation shall be inserted.

(b) To organise a systematic canvas of the co-operative societies, and for that purpose to divide the United Kingdom into districts, to be visited by agents or travellers, either appointed by the committee or under any arrangements entered into by it with any society member, so that each such agent or traveller represents all the societies members of the Federation who desire to avail themselves of his services, and carry with him *The List*.

(c) To establish, as soon as practicable, in each district, centres where samples of any goods in *The List* may be exhibited, and prices or any other informa-

tion relating thereto may be obtained. And for this purpose to invite the aid of the distributive societies in all ways found practicable.

(d) To establish, as soon as possible, among the members of the Federation, conferences for the discussion of any matters connected with the business of the Federation, which shall be held at such times and in such order as the general meetings fix from time to time, at the works of each society member, or on the request of any such society, at such other place near thereto as it may select.

(e) To enter into communication with the Central Co-operative Board, the Wholesale Societies, and all other representative bodies in the co-operative movement, in order to ensure, as far as may be, the harmonious working of the Federation with them.

2. *For facilitating the operations* above stated, it shall be the duty of every society member of the Federation—

(a) To furnish to the secretary of the Federation, once at least in each year, and so much oftener as the general meetings require, a list of all the society customers to whom they are selling.

(b) To allow to the other society members, their agents, or travellers, employed under Clause XV. (1b), such rates of commission on the sales made or orders obtained from any society or firm visited by any such agent or traveller, to be ascertained in such manner as the committee fix, subject to any resolutions of the general meetings, and to any agreement between the society members from time to time.

XVI. General Rule 110.—*The Seal* of the society shall have the device of a band, with the motto, "Hold together."

XVII. General Rule 127 (4).—*The Dividend* on shares shall be at such rate not exceeding £5 per cent as the general meetings declare on the proposal of the committee.

XVIII. General Rule 130.—*The Surplus Profits* of the society, after providing for the charges specified in this rule, shall be applied for the extension of its objects in such manner as the general meetings direct on the proposal of the

committee, so that any sums divided be allotted in equal portions between the employés of the society in proportion to their salaries and the societies doing business with it in proportion to the commission and profits contributed by them to the Federation.

EDWD. VANSITTART NEALE.
JOS. GREENWOOD.
ELLIS ARMITAGE.
GEORGE NEWELL.
JOHN HARTLEY.
EDWIN WAECHTER.
EDWD. OWEN GREENING.
JOHN LAMBERT, *Secretary.*

COPY OF ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF REGISTRY.

*The Co-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED
is registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies
Act, 1876, this 20th day of November, 1882.*

JOHN MALCOLM LUDLOW.

Copy kept—J. M. L.



CO-OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED.

PARTIAL AMENDMENT OF RULES.

1. Special Rule II. rescind, and substitute—
II. General Rule 3.—*The Special Objects* of the society are to carry on the trades of bankers, commercial agents, and general dealers, both wholesale and retail.

2. Special Rule IV. rescind, and substitute—

IV. General Rule 8.—*No Individual Member* shall be admitted hereafter; and, subject to any resolution of a general meeting as to the number of shares to be held by any society, every society shall hold one share for every five members.

4. Special Rule V.—Omit the last twenty-one words, and substitute—

And no society shall be admitted which does not, by its rules, admit the workers employed by it to become members, and to participate in the division of profits in respect of their wages.

6. Special Rule XI. is rescinded.

7. The following new special rule is adopted:—

Rule XIIA., General Rule 88.—If the employés of this society form an association for mutual help, which is admitted by any general meeting as a member of this society, the committee shall, on the nomination of such association under its rules, appoint such one of the members thereof, being an employé, as is so nominated to be during such

time as the nomination subsists a member of the committee of this society, in addition to the elected members thereof, who, during his appointment, shall have equal voting powers and rights with the elected members. Should he cease to be an employé his office becomes vacant.

8. Special Rule XIII., line 2, substitute for £100 £500.

9. Special Rule XV.—Rescind lines 1 to 6, and substitute—

Rule XV., General Rule 107.—1. *The Society* shall act as agent for any of its members who desire to avail themselves of its services, for which purpose it shall be the duty of the

10. Special Rule XVIII.—The following words shall be added at the end of this rule:—

Of which the sums allotted to the employés may be applied to the purchase for them of withdrawable shares in the employés' association provided in Rule XIII.

EDWIN CARTER,	} Members of the Society.
GEORGE NEWELL,	
JOHN POTTER,	
THOMAS TIMSON, Secretary.	

ACKNOWLEDGMENT OF REGISTRY OF AMENDMENT OF RULES.

The foregoing amendment of the rules of the Co-
OPERATIVE PRODUCTIVE FEDERATION LIMITED is registered
under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, this
30th day of May, 1892.

E. W. B.

Copy kept—E. W. B.

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GENERAL RULES FOR AN INDUSTRIAL AND PROVIDENT SOCIETY.

To be Registered under the 39th and 40th Vict., c. 45, with Limited Liability.
FORM 2.

The Copyright of these Rules is the property of the Co-
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Street, Manchester. All rights reserved.

Manchester:
CENTRAL CO-OPERATIVE BOARD, 14, CITY BUILDINGS,
CORPORATION STREET.

GENERAL RULES.

(For List of the Rules see end.)

CHAPTER I.—INTERPRETATION AND GENERAL QUALIFICATION.

1. *Interpretation.*—In the construction of these Rules, including this rule, the following words and expressions shall have respectively the meanings following, unless the subject matter or context are inconsistent therewith:—

(1) Words importing the singular or plural number shall respectively include the plural and singular numbers; words importing the masculine gender only shall include the feminine gender.

(2) "The Act" shall mean the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876.

(3) "The committee" shall mean the committee of management, board of directors, or other directing body of a society or company.

(4) A "company" shall mean (1) any body corporate other than a society; (2) any society authorised to sue and be sued by any person authorised to act in its behalf; and "a society" shall mean any society registered under the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876, or deemed so to be.

(5) "Lands" shall include tenements and hereditaments.

(6) "He," "him," and "person" shall include a company or society.

(7) "Nominal capital" shall mean the amount of the shares allotted for the time being, including any which may have been purchased on account of the society.

(8) "The society" shall mean the society named in the special rules.

(9) "Special members" shall mean the persons by whom the special rules are signed, and any other persons whom those rules may declare to be included thereunder.

(10) "The special rules" shall mean the rules prefixed hereto, whereby these rules are made rules of any society.

(11) "The Treasury regulations" shall mean the regulations approved by the Treasury under the Act, or any Act relating to industrial and provident societies for the time being.

(12) A direction given by the society shall mean a direction given by any of the "special rules" of the society, or by any rule of the society, made after the rules are registered; and the words "subject thereto," following any such direction, shall mean "unless such a rule is made, and so far as no such rule directs otherwise."

(13) In Ireland, "bond" shall include a judgment registered as a mortgage, or a mortgage deed affecting specified lands.

(14) In Scotland, "letters of administration" and "probate" shall mean confirmation.

2. *Qualification.*—Every rule herein contained shall be subject to qualification by any special rule of the society referring to it by its number, and shall be deemed to be adopted by the society in so far only as is consistent with such qualification.

CHAPTER II.—NAME, OBJECTS, AND PLACE OF BUSINESS.

3. *Name, Objects, and Powers of the Society.*—The name and special objects of the society shall be those stated in the special rules. The objects of the society shall include the trade of buying and selling land. The society shall have full powers to do all things necessary or expedient for the accomplishment of all objects specified in its rules, including the power to purchase, hold, sell, mortgage, rent, lease, or sub-lease, lands of any tenure, and to erect, pull down, repair, alter, or otherwise deal with any building thereon.

4. *Registered Office—How to be Fixed.*—The registered office of the society shall be at such place in the United Kingdom as is mentioned in the special rules. It may be changed as the society may direct, and subject thereto, by a resolution of the committee.

5. *Removal of Office to be Notified.*—Notice of any removal of the office of the society shall be sent to the Registrar of Friendly Societies for the place where the office is established within fourteen days after such change, or such other time as may be required by the Treasury regulations, and in manner and form thereby prescribed.

6. *Books of Account, &c., to be Kept at Office.*—All books of account, securities, documents, and papers of the society, other than such (if any) as are directed by the committee to be kept elsewhere, shall be kept at the registered office, in such manner and with such provisions for their security, as the committee from time to time direct; and shall be open to inspection by the members as is hereinafter provided.

CHAPTER III.—MEMBERSHIP.

Sec. 1.—Members.

7. *Who are Members.*—The society shall consist of the special members, and of all such other persons as the special rules direct, or the committee may admit, subject to such confirmation, if any, as the special rules require.

8. *Shares to be held by Members.*—Subject to the provisions of the Act, the members shall hold respectively such number of shares in the society, and these shares shall be of such descriptions as the society may direct; and subject thereto each individual shall hold at least one transferable share, and each society or company one for every hundred members thereof. The special members shall be deemed, without any special application, to hold such number of shares each of such descriptions as an individual member is required to hold.

9. *Payment on Application.*—Every person shall pay, on applying for admission, such sum as the society may direct, and subject thereto 1s., for which he shall receive a copy of the rules.

10. *Application by a Society or Company.*—Applications for admission by a society or company shall be in such of the forms, contained in Rule 140, as the case requires, and shall be for such number of shares at least as the rules require, and of such descriptions as they permit the applicant to hold.

11. *Application by an Individual.*—An application by an individual may be made either in the form contained in Rule 140, or by making such payment as is required upon an application for admission, and the signature of a receipt for a copy of the rules in the form contained in the said rule, either by the applicant or on his behalf.

12. *How Applications shall be dealt with.*—Every application for admission shall be considered by the committee at its first meeting after it is made, or so soon thereafter as is practicable; and if it is approved, the name of the applicant shall be entered on the list of members and the register of shares hereinafter mentioned, for the number and description of shares required to be held by the rules, or any larger number applied for and allowed to be held thereby, upon such approval and such confirmation thereof, if any, as the society may direct.

13. *Notice of Refusal or Admission.*—Notice of the refusal of an application, or of the entry of the name of any applicant on the list of members, signed by the secretary, shall be sent to the applicant, at the address mentioned on the form of application or receipt, within one week after such refusal or entry is made.

14. *Repayment of the Entrance Fee.*—The sum paid on an application for admission shall be repaid on demand to the person by whom or on whose behalf it was or purports to have been paid, within one calendar month after the date of the said notice in the cases following:—

- (1) If the application is refused;
- (2) If it is not granted within three calendar months after the application;
- (3) If it is based on a payment made on behalf of any person without his authority.

15. *Appeal and Erasure of the Names of Applicants.*—In the first of the above cases, the person refused admission shall have the same right of appeal as is given by Rule 21. In the second and third cases, the name entered shall be erased from the list of members, on a demand of the person whose name is so entered before any payment made to and knowingly accepted by such person as a member.

16. *How Forms to be referred to.*—The forms used on an application shall be numbered, and filed in the office of the society, and referred to in the list of members.

17. *Admission of Married Women.*—No woman known to be married, or about to be married, shall be admitted as a member, without the consent, in writing, of her husband, or intended husband, except in respect to a share fully paid, and upon an application from her, in writing, that such share may be entered in her name, or intended name, as a married woman, entitled to her separate use, as provided by the Married Women's Property Acts, 1870, in England and Ireland, and 1877 (Scotland).

18. *Admission of Minors.*—A minor not under the age of sixteen years may be admitted as a member, if the society does not direct otherwise, and execute all instruments and give all acquittances necessary to be executed or given under the rules, but may not be a member of the committee, manager, or treasurer of the society. [See the Act, § 11 (9).]

19. *Withdrawal of Members and Partial Cessation of Membership.*—A person, all of whose shares have been transferred, withdrawn, repaid, or forfeited under the rules shall cease to be a member, and no member may vote at any meeting of the society, either personally or by deputy,

- (1) If he holds less than the number of shares of either description required to be taken up on admission;
- (2) If he is in arrear of his subscriptions;
- (3) If the sum standing to his credit on any withdrawable shares is reduced by withdrawals below the full amount payable on the number of withdrawable shares he may be required to hold.

Sec. 2.—List of Members.

20. *Where to be kept and Entries thereon.*—The committee shall keep, at the registered office of the society, a list of the names, occupations, and addresses of all members, open at all convenient times to the inspection of the members; and each member shall give notice of any change affecting himself, or be subject to such fine not exceeding 1s. as any ordinary business meeting may fix, provided that it is not retrospective. No person whose name does not appear on such list, other than a deputy, shall have any right as a member of the

society; and the committee shall cause to be erased therefrom the names of all such persons as cease to be members under these rules.

21. *Claims to be Entered on, or Removed from the List.*—A person who claims to be placed or retained on, or removed from the list of members, shall apply in the first instance to the committee for that purpose, and, if refused, may appeal to the next ordinary business meeting held after the receipt of notice of such refusal, which may make such order on the matter as it thinks fit.

CHAPTER IV.—CAPITAL.

Sec. 1.—Share Capital.

22. *Nominal Value.*—The capital of the society shall be raised by shares of such nominal value, payable by such instalments, at such intervals, with such fines, if any, in default of payment as the society may direct, and subject thereto by shares of the nominal value of £1, payable as to all shares required to be held at the rate of 8d. per week, with a fine of 1s. per quarter on non-payment.

23. *Instalments.*—Each instalment shall be payable at such place, on such days, between such hours, and to such persons as the committee from time to time fix.

24. *Power to Pay in Anticipation.*—A member may pay the whole or any part of any instalment in anticipation of the period when it will become due; and, if he holds more than one share, either transferable or withdrawable, not fully paid may specify to which shares the payment shall be applied, otherwise it shall be distributed equally: and the committee may allow a rebate not exceeding the rate of £5 per cent per annum upon any such anticipated payment.

25. *Cases of Distress.*—The committee may remit any fine incurred by non-payment of any instalment, if the non-payment appears to them to have arisen from sickness, distress, want of work, or any other sufficient reason, of which a written statement, signed by the defaulting member or some person claiming to act on his behalf, has been given to the secretary at the time when the payment ought to have been made.

26. *Application of Dividends to Pay up Shares.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, the dividends payable

(1) Upon the share capital held by any member;

(2) Upon any purchases made by him;

shall not be paid to him until all shares which he is required to hold are fully paid, but shall accumulate and be applied from time to time in payment of the sums due on such shares.

27. *Allotment of Shares.*—The committee shall allot to all members other than the special members, upon their admission or admission and approval, as the case may be, such number of shares, of the descriptions issued by the society, as they apply for, and shall similarly allot, from time to time, the shares applied for by any member, or required to make the nominal value of his shares, whether transferable or withdrawable, not less than the capital of the same name credited to him, provided that the number of shares so allotted does not raise the total investment of any member, except a society, to a sum exceeding two hundred pounds sterling, or such lesser sum as the society may direct.

Sec. 2.—Enforcement of Debts to Society.

28. *Recovery of Sums due under Rules, and Forfeiture of Shares.*—All sums due from any member, for subscriptions or otherwise, shall be recoverable from him, his executors or administrators, as a debt due to the society. The secretary shall lay before each ordinary business meeting a return of all such sums, and thereupon the meeting may—

(1) Direct the committee to take legal proceedings for the recovery thereof;

(2) If the sum is due in respect of a share, declare such share to be forfeited in such cases as the society may direct, and subject thereto if any payment thereon has been in arrear for three calendar months.

29. *Effect, and Remission of Forfeiture.*—Upon a declaration of forfeiture of a share, all sums paid or credited thereon shall become the property of the society; but the forfeiture may be remitted in such cases as the society may direct, and subject thereto shall be remitted if the sum due is paid

within one calendar month from the date of a notice of forfeiture, which shall be sent in each case to the registered address of the member within one week after the declaration of forfeiture.

Sec. 3.—Loans and Deposits.

80. *Loans on the Security of Agreements, Bonds, or Mortgages: to what amount, and how may be made:*

(1) The committee may obtain advances of money for the purposes of the society from time to time from any person, whether a member of the society or not, upon the security of bonds, or agreements, or transferable preferential shares by or of the society, or of a mortgage either legal or equitable of any property thereof;

(2) The amount so obtained shall not exceed such proportion of the nominal capital of the society as the society may direct, and subject thereto, shall not exceed one-half thereof, without the previous authority of a special general meeting. With such authority, it may be any sum not exceeding the amount so authorised;

(3) The committee may make any such loan on such terms as to the time and manner of repayment as it thinks fit;

(4) The rate of interest agreed to be given on any such advance shall not exceed any rate which the society may direct, but subject thereto may be any rate not exceeding £6 per cent per annum, or such higher rate as any special general meeting may authorise;

(5) Any bond of the society may be made a specific charge upon any lands of the society specified therein or in any schedule thereto. But a separate register shall be kept of all such bonds;

(6) Any such bond or share may be issued, or agreement or mortgage made, as a continuing security to cover any sum not exceeding the limits aforesaid, due or to become upon the account of the society to any person with whom it may transact banking business.

81. *Power to Receive Deposits.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, the committee may receive from any persons, whether members or not, on deposit, withdrawable on such

notice, being not less than two clear days, as they fix from time to time, any sums, within the total limit mentioned in Rule 80, not exceeding 5s. in any one payment, nor £20 for any one depositor; and if the society has any withdrawable capital, no payment thereof shall be made while any claim due on account of any such deposit is unsatisfied.

Sec. 4.—Investments.

82. *Power to Invest Surplus Capital.*—The committee may invest any part of the capital of the society in advances to members on the security of real or personal property; or, with the sanction of a special general meeting, in purchasing the business of any other society or company in which its capital might be invested falling within the objects of the society, or in carrying on any such business in conjunction with any such society or company; or in any other way permitted by the Industrial and Provident Societies Act, 1876.

Sec. 5.—Repayment of Capital.

83. *Repayment Compulsory on Members.*—Subject to the payment of, or a sufficient provision for, all subsisting claims on the society, the committee, with the approval of any general meeting, may apply any moneys for which they cannot find profitable investment, in paying off—

(1) The shares of any member who has bought of the society less than any amount fixed by the ordinary business meetings in any prescribed time;

(2) The excess of shares held by those who hold the largest number above those who hold the next largest;

Provided that no member be required to accept less than the full sum paid upon each share paid off, and that the number of shares held by any member shall not be reduced below the number required, by the rules of the society, to be held.

84. *Repayment on the Request of Members.*—Subject as aforesaid, the committee may, unless the society directs otherwise, in the case of any transferable share required to be held by a member desirous of withdrawing from the society, on the application of the holder of any such share, repay any sum not exceeding the amount then credited thereon; and shall repay the whole sum so credited in any case where they refuse to confirm the transfer of any such share which is fully paid up.

35. *Shares Repaid to be Extinguished.*—All such repayments shall be made on resolutions of the committee, which, with the receipts for the money paid, shall be entered or referred to on the respective registers of withdrawable or transferable shares after-mentioned, designating any transferable share by the number to be given to it, and thereupon the shares in respect of which such payments are made shall be extinguished.

36. *Moneys Left with the Society after Notice of Repayment.*—If a member who has received notice that the committee is prepared to pay him off leave the sum to be thus repaid in the hands of the society he shall not be entitled to any interest thereon after the expiration of the time named in the notice of repayment.

CHAPTER V.—SHARES.

Sec. 1.—Shares Generally.

37. *Of What Descriptions.*—The shares of the society shall be of such descriptions as the society may direct, and subject thereto, and to Rule 54, shall be either transferable or withdrawable, as is expressed in each case.

38. *Where Two or more Joint Holders.*—Shares may be held by two or more individuals jointly, either of whom may give a valid receipt for any interest or dividend payable thereon; and all notices relating to any such shares, given to such one as they jointly direct, and in default of any direction, to the one whose name stands first in the books of the society, shall be sufficiently given.

39. *Limit to Dividends.*—Dividends shall not be calculated on or for any fraction of £1, or of a calendar month.

40. *Lien of Society on Shares.*—The society shall have a lien on the shares of any member for any debt due to it by him other than under Rule 55 (4) for any subscription repaid, and may set off any sum credited to the member thereon in or towards the payment of such debt.

Sec. 2.—Transferable Shares.

41. *How to be Allotted.*—All transferable shares allotted by the society shall be numbered continuously, and all such as are not taken to be held by the special members shall be

allotted to the original holders thereof by the committee in the order of the numbers; and all such as are taken to be so held shall be entered in the share register after mentioned, under the names of such members, in alphabetical order, by the order of the numbers, beginning with one.

42. *Share Register.*—The committee shall keep a share register, in which, under the number of each share, shall be entered the name of the member to whom it was originally allotted, or under whose name it is entered; and if the share is cancelled, as is hereinafter provided, the date of such cancelling.

43. *Share Ledger.*—The committee shall keep, as part of the share register, a ledger, containing, in separate columns, under the name of each member, the numbers of the shares originally allotted to, or entered in the name of, or subsequently acquired by such member, with the dates of such allotments, entries, and transfers respectively, and a reference to the pages containing the names of the transferors; the numbers of all shares transferred, with the date of such transfers respectively; a reference to the pages containing the names of the transferees; and such particulars of the amounts paid upon such shares as the committee direct.

44. *Forms of Transfer.*—Transfers shall be in one of the forms hereinafter contained, or as near thereto as the case allows; they shall be numbered continuously, and shall state the number of each share transferred; and shall be executed by the transferor and transferee, and kept in the office of the society, and entered under their numbers in a register of transfers, with such other particulars as the committee direct; and the number of each transfer shall be entered in the share ledger, under the name of the transferor and the transferee.

45. *Registration of Transfers.*—No transfer shall be registered unless it is properly stamped, nor if made by a member indebted to the society, without special order of the committee; and until the transfer of a share is registered no right shall be acquired against the society by the transferee, nor shall any claim of the society upon the transferor be affected.

46. *To whom Transfers may be made.*—Any share may be transferred with the approval of the committee to any other member at the option of the transferor; but if the transferee is not a member he must be approved of as a member by the

committee, or the committee and a general meeting, according to the provisions of the rules relating to the admission of members, before the transfer can be registered; and if the rules require a member to hold more than one transferable share, the transferee must acquire by the transfer, or by the transfer and allotment, the number so required to be held before the transfer can be registered; and if the transferee is a woman known to be married or about to be married, such consent or application as is required by the rules upon her admission shall be requisite before the transfer can be registered.

47. *Fee on Transfers.*—Upon the transfer of any share there shall be paid such fee as the society may direct, and subject thereto sixpence.

48. *Shares held in Trust.*—No entry of any trust shall be made upon the share register, except in the case of shares held by trustees for any company, in which case no transfer shall be registered except on a resolution of the committee of such company, which shall be filed with the transfer.

49. *Payment of Stamp Duty by the Society.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, the committee may pay the stamp duty upon the transfer of any share which a member is required to hold, made for the purpose of enabling him to withdraw from the society.

50. *Preferential Shares.*—All shares to which any preferential right or claim is attached, shall be transferable only.

51. *Sale of Shares to Pay Debts.*—The committee may, in default of payment by any member indebted to the society in any manner contrary to its rules, to an amount not less than three-fourths of the sum paid up for the time being on any transferable share held by him, sell and transfer in the books of the society such share to any person entitled to hold the same under the rules, for the best price obtainable therefor, and apply the proceeds in or towards the discharge of the debt so due and any expenses incurred in or about the same, paying over the balance thereof, if any, to the member, without being responsible for any loss occasioned thereby. And any transfer so made shall extinguish all right of such

member in the share so transferred, and shall operate as an original issue thereof, subject to the credit to be given to the purchaser for all payments previously made thereon.

52. *Limit to Amount Expended on Repayments.*—The amount expended in the repayment of any transferable shares shall not exceed any sum placed at the disposal of the committee for that purpose from time to time by the general meetings of the society, and shall be regularly stated in the accounts of the society.

53. *Payments on Account of Shares.*—Payments made on account of shares by a member who holds any transferable share not fully paid shall be carried to the account thereof, and distributed equally among such shares, if more than one.

Sec. 3.—Withdrawable Shares.

54. *When may be Allotted.*—Withdrawable shares shall be allotted as the society directs and subject thereto as the committee fix.

55. *Conditions of Withdrawal.*—Such shares and the sums credited thereon shall be withdrawable as the society directs, and subject thereto on such notice as the committee fix, and under the regulations following:—

(1) On the withdrawal of any sum such number of shares as corresponds to that sum, excluding fractions of a share, shall be deemed to be withdrawn;

(2) All withdrawals shall be paid in the order of the applications therefor;

(3) Where any such share is required to be held—1. No continuing member shall reduce the sum credited thereon except by the consent of the committee; 2. A withdrawing member shall be paid the sum so credited, with all arrears of dividend, if any, within six calendar months after receipt of the notice of withdrawal, subject to clauses (6) and (7), and to any fine which the society may direct;

(4) Sums withdrawn on a share required to be held shall be a debt payable, and enforceable by forfeiture, in like manner as subscriptions on that share;

(5) The committee may waive the ordinary notice, and remit any fine for any time not over six calendar months;

(6) Unless the society directs otherwise, not more than one-tenth of the withdrawable capital paid up on the 1st of January in each year, including all sums

under notice of withdrawal at its commencement, shall be withdrawable during the year except by consent of the committee;

(7) The right of withdrawal may be suspended as the society may direct, and subject thereto by the resolution of a special general meeting for any time thereby fixed in all cases where the notice of the meeting preceded the application for withdrawal;

(8) If the society should go into liquidation, and the assets left, after paying all trade debts, loans, and deposits in full, are insufficient to repay the withdrawable share capital, there shall be deducted from the respective accounts of the members per share of each share required to be held, the amount payable thereon, or so much thereof as is needed to meet the deficiency.

56. *Share Register and Ledger Account of Shares.*—Withdrawable shares shall not be numbered, but the committee shall keep a share register showing the amount of withdrawable share capital existing from time to time, and containing a ledger account under the name of each member, showing the number of shares held by, and all sums due, paid, or withdrawn by or credited to him on their account.

57. *Form of Withdrawals.*—Applications for withdrawal shall be made and paid as the committee direct.

Sec. 4.—Transmission of Interest.

58. *Nomination Book.*—Any member not under the age of sixteen years may, by a writing under his hand, delivered at or sent to the registered office of the society, nominate any person, not being an officer or servant of the society, unless such officer or servant is the husband, wife, father, mother, child, brother, sister, nephew, or niece of the nominator, to whom his shares in the society shall be transferred at his decease, provided that the amount credited to him in the books of the society does not exceed £50; and may from time to time revoke or vary such nomination by a writing under his hand, similarly delivered or sent, but not otherwise; and the committee shall keep a book wherein the names of all persons so nominated shall be regularly entered, and shall cause any nomination so revoked to be erased therein. [See the Act, § 11 (5).]

59. *Notice of the Right to Nominate.*—A notice of the right of nomination shall be sent to every individual member who

has not exercised this right, with the report of the first ordinary business meeting in each year of which a report is circulated among the members, and shall be otherwise given, as such meetings may direct.

60. *Fees on Nomination or Revocation.*—A member shall pay such fee, not exceeding 3d., for the entry of every nomination or revocation, whether or not accompanied by a fresh nomination, as the society may direct and subject thereto 3d.; and one fee only shall be charged for the entry of all the names in any nomination or revocation paper, if more than one. [See the Act, § 11 (5).]

61. *Proceedings on the Death of a Member:*

(1) Upon receiving satisfactory proof of the death of a nominator, the committee shall either transfer the shares in manner directed on such nomination, or pay to every person entitled thereunder the full value of his interest, at their option, unless the shares if transferred to any such nominee would raise his interest in the society to an amount exceeding £200, in which case they shall pay him the full value of such shares not exceeding the sum aforesaid. [See the Act, § 11 (5).]

(2) If any member entitled to an interest in the society not exceeding £50 dies intestate, and without having made any such nomination as aforesaid, which remains unrevoked at his death, the committee shall transfer or pay such interest, without letters of administration, to or among the persons who appear to a majority of the committee, upon such evidence as they may deem satisfactory, to be by law entitled to receive the same. [See the Act, § 11 (5).]

(3) Upon the death of any member who has an interest in the society exceeding £50, or transmitted by his will, his executor or administrator shall, so soon after his decease as is practicable, give to the secretary of the society a notice, in writing, stating the death of such member, and the Christian name, surname, profession, or business of such legal representative, and specifying the nature and amount of his interest or claim; and thereupon, and upon the production, if the case requires, of the probate of the will of, or letters of administration to, such member, and of such evidence, if any, of his

death as may be required by the committee, the committee shall either transfer the shares, or other interest of the member specified in such notice, in the books of the society to his legal representative, or shall pay to him the sum which represents the full value thereof, and may make such transfer or payment at their discretion, unless the transfer would increase the interest of the transferee in the society to more than £200, in which case they shall make the payment in money.

62. *Extinction of Transferable Shares.*—If any share so paid for is a transferable share, an entry of the payment shall be made on the register of transfers, in manner hereinbefore provided, on the repayment of a transferable share, and thereupon such share shall be extinguished.

63. *Shares Nominated to be always Transferable.*—Shares comprised in any nomination shall be transferable to the nominee without ceasing to be withdrawable in consequence of such transfer, and the like provision shall apply to shares transferred under any will or administration. [See the Act, § 11 (5).]

64. *Transfer to Make Membership.*—Every nominee or other person to whom any share is transferred under this section shall thereby become a member of the society, if not previously a member.

65. *Bankruptcy of a Member.*—The provisions herein contained as to the executor or administrator of a deceased member shall apply to the trustee of the property of a bankrupt member, with such variations as the case requires.

66. *Joint Holders of Shares.*—On the decease of a joint holder of any share it shall be transferred into the name of the survivor on his application.

CHAPTER VI.—GOVERNMENT & ADMINISTRATION.

Sec. 1.—General Meetings.

67. *Ordinary and Special Meetings.*—Meetings of the members shall be either general, which include (1) ordinary business meetings; (2) special general meetings; or monthly.

68. *Ordinary Business Meetings.*—The first ordinary business meeting of the society after it is established shall be held at such time as the special members fix, and the subsequent meetings at such time as the society may direct, and subject thereto in each 3rd, 6th, 9th, and 12th month after the first meeting, on such days and hours as are fixed by the resolutions of any such meetings from time to time, and so far as no such resolution extends by the committee.

69. *Monthly Meetings.*—Monthly meetings shall be held as the society may direct, and subject thereto as the ordinary business meetings direct; and shall have such functions as is so directed, and so far as no such direction extends the following functions:—

- (1) To confirm or not the election of members and the transfer of shares, if the rules require such elections or transfers to be confirmed by a general meeting;
- (2) To discuss the affairs of the society;
- (3) To explain the principles and rules of the society;
- (4) To make suggestions for the consideration of the committee;
- (5) To recommend the names of persons suitable for election as officers of the society.

70. *Functions of Ordinary Business Meetings.*—The functions of ordinary business meetings shall be:—

- (1) To receive from the committee, auditors, or any other officers of the society, reports upon the business of the society during the period embraced therein and the state of its affairs at the date thereof, which, except any such meeting directs otherwise, shall be made to every such meeting;
- (2) To elect the committee, auditors, and other officers of the society, excepting those whose appointment is given by the rules to the committee;
- (3) To transact any other general business of the society.

71. *Time and Place of Holding such Meetings.*—Any ordinary business meeting may fix, from time to time, its place of meeting, which, where no other place is so fixed, shall be the registered office of the society.

72. *Notice of Time and Place of Meeting.*—Such notice shall be given of the time and place of the first ordinary business meeting as the special members direct, and subsequently, notice of the time of every ordinary business meeting, and of the place where it is to be held if it be other than the registered office of the society, and in case the meeting has to elect any officer of the society of what officers are to be then elected, shall be given as the society may direct, and subject thereto by fixing such notice conspicuously in the registered office and every place of business of the society for fourteen clear days before the day of the meeting, and otherwise as such meetings may direct.

73. *Special General Meetings.*—Special general meetings shall be convened by the secretary, either on an order of the committee, or upon a requisition signed by such number of members as the society may direct, and subject thereto by twenty members, and shall be held as soon as is possible after the receipt of such order or requisition, and at the ordinary place and time of the business meetings of the society, unless any ordinary business meeting fixes any other place of meeting.

74. *Notice of Special General Meetings.*—Notices convening a special general meeting shall state the time and place thereof, and the purpose for which it is convened, and shall be notified to the members as the society may direct, and subject thereto shall be posted to the registered address of all the members not less than six clear days before the day of meeting, unless in any case of emergency where the committee unanimously direct a shorter notice to be given.

75. *Where Members may give Notice.*—If the secretary does not convene a special general meeting in manner required hereby, for seven clear days after a requisition therefor signed as hereinbefore is provided has been delivered at the office of the society, any of the requisitionists may give such notice of the meeting as is provided by Rule 74, and shall have a claim upon the society for all costs, if any, properly incurred in giving such notice.

76. *Business of Special General Meetings.*—A special general meeting cannot transact any business not specified in the notice convening it, nor unless the notice convening

it has been given according to the rules. But an ordinary business meeting may be made special for any purpose of which notice has been so given, provided that such business is not brought on until the ordinary business is concluded.

77. *Quorum of General Meetings.*—An ordinary business or special general meeting may proceed to business, if such number of members as the society may direct to be the quorum of such meetings, and subject thereto if ten members are present within an hour after the time fixed for the meeting; otherwise the meeting, if a special general meeting convened on the requisition of the members, shall be dissolved, but if an ordinary business meeting or a special meeting convened by order of the committee, shall stand adjourned to the week following, at the same time, and shall be held at the principal place of business of the society unless any resolution of an ordinary business meeting directs otherwise in which case it shall stand adjourned to such place as is so directed; and the meeting so adjourned may proceed to business whatever is the number of members present. No meeting shall become incompetent to transact business from the want of a quorum arising after the chair has been taken.

78. *Power of Adjournment.*—Any general meeting, duly constituted, may adjourn to such place as the members present direct, within such limit of time as the society may direct, and subject thereto within thirty days, and may continue any such adjournment from time to time. No business shall be brought on at any adjourned meeting which could not have been transacted at the original meeting; and the same notice shall be given of any meeting adjourned for more than fourteen days as was required for the original meeting.

79. *Quorum of Monthly Meetings.*—A monthly meeting shall be dissolved if such number of members are not present within such time after the hour of meeting as the meeting appointing them fixes, and subject thereto if ten members are not present within fifteen minutes.

80. *Chairman of Meetings.*—Every meeting shall have a chairman, who shall have such voting power as the society may, direct, and subject thereto shall not vote unless the votes

are equal, when he shall have a casting vote; and who, in the absence of the president of the society shall be any member of the committee willing to preside; and in the absence of any such member such person as the meeting selects.

81. *Votes of (1) Individuals, (2) Societies or Companies.*

—(1) Each individual member present, who holds such number of shares as an individual is required to apply for on admission, and is credited in the books of the society with such sum as the society may direct, and subject thereto with a sum equal to one share, and is not disqualified by Rule 19; and such one of the joint holders of the like number of shares credited with the like sum and not so disqualified as they appoint in writing, shall have one vote. Proxies shall be admitted only as the society may direct, and under the conditions so stated. (2) A society or company which holds such number of shares as it is required to apply for on admission, and is not in arrear of the subscriptions due thereon, may vote by deputy, and may appoint such number of deputies, each of whom shall have such number of votes, to be given in such manner as the society may direct; and subject thereto every such society or company may appoint one deputy, and each deputy shall have one vote.

82. *How Votes shall be Taken.*—Votes shall be first taken by show of hands, unless a ballot on any question is demanded by such number of members in such manner as the society may direct, and subject thereto by five members present, when they shall be taken by ballot as the society may direct, and subject thereto as the committee fix. Subject to any special direction contained in any rule of the society or Act of Parliament, all questions shall be determined by a majority of votes.

83. *Appointment and Powers of Deputies.*—A deputy shall be appointed, as the society may direct, and subject thereto by a resolution signed by the secretary and two members of the committee thereof and sent to the secretary of this society. He shall be taken to be a member of this society on behalf of such society or company, and shall be included in the number of members required to constitute a meeting; and shall be competent during the

continuance of his appointment to do any act consistent therewith which could be done by an individual member; and the appointment of a deputy shall be taken to continue until notice of the appointment of some other deputy in his stead is so given as above stated.

84. *Conduct of Members.*—The committee, if they find it requisite, may pass resolutions for regulating the conduct of members at meetings, or the time after which divisions shall not be taken; which shall be binding on all the members, subject to any resolutions of the ordinary business meetings thereon.

Sec. 2.—*The Committee of Management.*

85. *How Committee to be formed.*—The business of the society shall be conducted by a committee of management, which, until the first ordinary business meeting after this rule is registered is held, shall consist of the special members, and after such meeting shall consist of such officers of the society, if any, and such number of committee-men so appointed as the society may direct, and subject thereto of the president, treasurer, secretary, and eight committee-men elected at such meeting.

86. *Retirement and re-eligibility of Committee-men:*

(1) At each ordinary business meeting such number of the existing committee-men as the society may direct, and subject thereto one-fourth part shall retire and an equal number shall be elected; the order of retirement being fixed so far as is practicable by priority of election, but if necessary by ballot. A retiring committee-man shall be immediately eligible.

(2) If a vacancy caused by the retirement of any committee-man is not filled up by the meeting by which it ought to have been filled under the rules, the retiring member may continue to act until the next ordinary business meeting.

87. *Removal of Members of Committee.*—A committee-man may be removed from office at any time by such majority as the society may direct, and subject thereto by two-thirds of the members present and voting at a special general meeting, which may thereupon proceed to fill up his place by a vote of the majority of the members present and voting.

88. *Qualification of a Committee-man.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, no person can be a committee-man who is not a member; and a person who holds any place of profit under the society other than an office remunerated in manner provided by Rule 105, shall be disqualified from being a committee-man; and any person who accepts such a place, or becomes bankrupt, or is concerned in the profits of any contract made with the society, except as a member of any society or company which contracts with or does any work for it, shall thereupon vacate his office.

89. *Vacancies—How to be filled up.*—A vacancy in the number of committee-men arising from any such disqualification as aforesaid, or the removal of any committee-man whose place is not filled up by the meeting by which he is removed, or the death, resignation, incapacity for acting, or refusal to act, of any committee-man, shall be filled up with some qualified person as the society may direct, and subject thereto (1) if it arises in the interval between two ordinary business meetings, by the remaining members of the committee, or if not so filled, by the next meeting; (2) if it arises at any such meeting, by the meeting, and in the last case any committee-man who may resign shall be immediately re-eligible. Every person so appointed, or elected by the meeting, to fill any vacancy shall be substituted for the member who has caused the vacancy, and shall retire from office at the time when such member would have retired.

90. *General Powers of the Committee.*—The committee shall control all business carried on by or on account of the society, receive and give receipts for all moneys due to it, determine all purchases or sales, and the prices to be paid or charged for the same, and make all contracts entered into by or on behalf of the society for any of the objects for which it is formed, including all purchases and contracts relating to land, excepting such, if any, as the society may direct to be subject to the approval or authorisation of a general meeting, and if the society has any land, building, or mortgage rules subject to these; and all such contracts shall be signed and attested as they direct from time to time. They may, from time to time, engage, remove, or discharge all managers, salesmen, or employes of any description required to conduct any such business, and fix their duties, salaries, or other

remuneration, at such rates, and require them to give such security, either in the forms hereinafter contained, or in such other forms approved of by them, as they determine. They shall decide on the evidence to be produced for establishing the claim of any nominee, executor, administrator, or official trustee to any share in the society; and may institute, prosecute, compromise, or refer to arbitration any suit, debt, liability, or claim against, by, to, or on the society; and in any case for which the rules of the society do not expressly provide, may exercise any power which could be exercised by the society in general meeting other than such as by the law for the time being relating to Industrial and Provident Societies may be required to be exercised by such meetings, and so that in the exercise of any such power they do nothing inconsistent with the previous resolutions of such meetings. And all acts or orders done or given by the committee in the name and on behalf of the society under any power hereby given them, shall bind the society and every member thereof as fully as if they had been acts or orders of a majority of the members of the society, at a general meeting thereof, acting in exercise of the powers given them by the rules.

91. *The Committee to Summon Meetings, Provide Books, &c.*—It shall be the duty of the committee, under such penalties, if any, as the society may direct,—

(1) To convene all meetings of the society according to the rules thereof, subject to the provisions hereinbefore contained as to special general meetings;

(2) To provide proper books for entering the accounts of all business carried on on behalf of the society, and the minutes of all meetings thereof, and of their own proceedings, and for making all such entries as are hereby required, or as any general meeting may direct;

(3) To provide such forms as are necessary in consequence of the provisions of the rules, and for the same being kept, made up, or used in such manner as in their discretion they think desirable;

(4) To provide a sufficient supply of copies of the annual returns and books of rules to comply with the directions of Rule 126.

92. *The Committee to lay Statement of Accounts and Report before the General Meetings.*—The committee shall prepare a

statement of the accounts of the society, in such form as the ordinary business meetings direct from time to time, and lay them, duly audited by the persons appointed to audit the same, before each ordinary business meeting, unless such meetings direct otherwise and in that case before such meetings as they may direct, accompanied by a report on the position of the affairs of the society, signed by the chairman of the meeting at which such report is adopted.

98. *Time, Place of Meeting, and Quorum of the Committee.*—The committee shall meet at such times and places as the ordinary business meetings direct, and, so far as no such direction extends, at such times and places as they determine, but shall not proceed to business unless such number of members as the society may direct, and subject thereto not unless three members are present. No member of the committee shall vote on a question on which he is personally interested.

94. *Fines for Non-attendance.*—The ordinary business meetings may impose fines on any member of the committee for non-attendance, provided that no such fine is retrospective.

95. *Chairman of the Committee.*—Every meeting of the committee shall have a chairman who shall be the president of the society if present, and in his absence such one of the members of the committee as they appoint. The majority of votes shall decide, but the chairman shall have a second casting vote.

96. *Special Meetings of the Committee.*—A special meeting of the committee may be called by a notice in writing given to the secretary by such number of members, at such time before the day fixed for the meeting as the society may direct, and subject thereto by two members one clear day before such time. The secretary shall communicate every such notice to all members of the committee as soon as possible after the receipt thereof; and no other business shall be done at the meeting than the business named therein.

97. *Appointment of Sub-committees.*—The committee may delegate any of the powers hereby given to them to a sub-committee of its own members, who shall, in the functions entrusted to them, conform in all respects to the instructions given them by the committee.

Sec. 3.—Local Committees.

98. *Provision for their Appointment.*—Any ordinary business meeting may provide for the appointment of a local committee for any purpose which appears to it likely to promote any object of the society, and may assign for the action of any such committee any district which it thinks fit.

99. *Mode of Appointment.*—A local committee shall consist of such number of members, appointed in such way, either by nomination of the committee, or election of the members whether generally or under any local limitation, as the meeting authorising its appointment directs.

100. *Functions of the Local Committees.*—A local committee shall be governed by such rules as the society may direct, and subject thereto by the rules following:—

(1) A local committee shall at the first meeting after its appointment, and afterwards at the first meeting in each year from that date, elect a chairman and a secretary, each of whom shall continue in office for twelve months if they continue on such committee, and shall be re-eligible; and shall fill up vacancies in either office as they may arise;

(2) The secretary of a local committee shall convene all meetings thereof, and keep a record of the attendances of the members, and the resolutions come to, and shall return to the committee the names and addresses of any members not appointed by the committee, as soon as possible after their appointment;

(3) A local committee shall discharge any local work which the committee may require it to undertake, and shall be specially charged with the duty—

(a) of visiting any branch belonging to the society in the district assigned to it;

(b) of advising with the manager thereof on any matter in their judgment tending to the improvement of the management or the increase of its sales;

(c) of bringing before the committee anything relating to the quality or price of the goods, or the conduct of the business at any such branch, which appears to it to be faulty;

(4) A local committee may be employed to take the stock of any such branch;

(5) A local committee shall have the management of all meetings of members within the district assigned to it, and shall have the primary duty of seeking to add new members, and inducing the members to support the society, and thus keeping up and developing the principles and benefits of co-operation;

(6) No local committee shall have authority to pledge the credit of the society, or involve it in any expense, except in virtue of a written order signed by the secretary of the society, and to the extent therein expressed.

Sec. 4.—Officers of the Society.

101. *Appointment of President, Treasurer, and Secretary.* There shall be such officers as the society may direct, and subject thereto a secretary and treasurer of the society, and a presiding officer with such title as the society may direct, and subject thereto with the title of president; and every officer shall be so qualified, appointed, and liable to suspension or removal, as the society may direct, and subject thereto the following regulations shall apply to each of the officers aforesaid:—

(1) He shall be elected at the first ordinary business meeting of the society after these rules are registered, and subsequently at the first ordinary business meeting in each year;

(2) He must be a member of the society, and shall be disqualified from office by the same circumstances which are disqualifications for a committee-man, and shall be removable from office by such a majority as can remove a committee-man;

(3) He shall be re-eligible, and if no successor is appointed on the termination of his office shall continue in office till the next regular period of election;

(4) A vacancy in his office shall be filled up at the next ordinary business meeting after it occurs, and if not then filled up by the members may be filled up by the committee;

(5) The person appointed to fill up a vacancy shall continue in office only till the regular time of election, subject to provision (8).

102. *Duties of these Officers.*—The duties of the officers appointed under Rule 101 shall respectively be such as the society may direct, and subject thereto shall be as follows:—

(1) THE PRESIDENT, or presiding officer by whatever title he is called, (a) shall take the chair, if present, at all meetings of the society or the committee;

(b) He shall sign the reports to be laid before the meetings of the society, which shall be previously submitted to, and approved of by, the committee.

(2) THE TREASURER (a) shall supervise the accounts and payments of the society, which shall be entered in the books thereof as he from time directs, subject to the orders of the committee;

(b) He shall lay before the committee at such times as they direct, and in default of any other direction at the first meeting in every month, a statement of the business of the society, showing such particulars as the committee require;

(c) He shall discharge any other functions relating to the receipts or payments of the society which the committee may direct;

(d) Any general meeting may substitute the bankers of the society in place of the treasurer, in which case any duties hereby assigned to the treasurer may be discharged in such manner as the meeting directs, and the election of an officer as treasurer shall cease to be made; but the meeting may substitute an additional committee-man and fix the time of his retirement.

(3) THE SECRETARY (a) shall summon and attend all meetings of the society and of the committee, and of any sub-committee, if so required by the committee, and shall keep minutes thereof in such manner as the committee direct;

(b) He shall make such returns relating to the business of the society as the committee require;

(c) He shall have charge of the documents and other papers of the society, and if required by the committee shall keep the accounts in such manner as they direct;

(d) He shall keep all the books relating to shares, loans, or deposits required to be kept under the rules of the society, and the list of members, and shall receive

all contributions, fines, and other payments due from the members to the society, and keep the accounts thereof, and pay over the amount so received as the committee directs;

(e) He shall prepare and send all returns required to be made to the registrar;

(f) He shall in all things act in the discharge of his duties under the direction and control of the committee;

(g) Unless the society directs otherwise he shall not sit on the committee except he is a member thereof in virtue of his office.

(4) *Generally.*—It shall be the duty of every officer of the society, having the receipt or charge of any moneys thereof, his executors, or administrators, at such time as the society may direct, and subject thereto as the committee require, or upon demand made, or notice in writing given or left at his last or usual place of residence, to give in his account, as may be required by the society or the committee, to be examined and allowed or disallowed by them, and on the like demand or notice to pay over all moneys, and deliver all property for the time being in his hands or custody to such person as the society or the committee appoint. [See the Act, § 18 (2).]

103. *Officers Appointed by the Committee.*—If the society directs that any officer to whom the provisions of Rule 102 apply shall be appointed by the committee, the committee may from time to time determine the duties of the officer so appointed by them, but subject to any such determination his duties shall be as is therein defined.

104. *Assistants to Secretary.*—The committee may from time to time appoint such clerks or other assistants as may be required to aid the secretary, whether he is elected by the society or appointed by the committee.

105. *Remuneration of Officers.*—The ordinary business meetings shall from time to time determine the remuneration of the secretary if elected at such meetings, and may remunerate the president, treasurer, committee-men, or any other member for their services as they think fit.

106. *Security by Officers.*—It shall be the duty of every person holding any office touching the receipt or charge of any moneys of the society, under such penalty as the society may direct, and subject thereto the minimum penalty attached to an offence under the Act, before entering on the execution of his office, either to enter into an agreement or to become bound, with or without a surety as the committee require, according to the forms in Rule 140, or such forms as they approve from time to time, or to give the security of a guarantee society in such sum as they direct, for rendering a full and true account of all moneys received or paid by him on account of the society, at such times as the rules fix or as the committee require, and for the payment of all sums due from him to the society. [See the Act, § 18 (1).]

Sec. 5.—Conduct of Business.

107. *Dealings shall be for Cash.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, all goods sold by the society shall be paid for on delivery, or if the committee so direct on order.

108. *Payment of Moneys into Bank.*—All moneys received from the members or otherwise on behalf of the society shall be dealt with as the general meetings direct from time to time, and subject thereto shall be placed to the account of the society with such bank as the committee select; and if not impracticable with some banking society or company which is a member of the Co-operative Union; and, if the moneys of the society cannot conveniently be thus disposed of, shall be kept in such custody as the committee direct from time to time.

109. *Payment by Cheques, subject to the Direction of any General Meeting.*—When a banking account is opened, all payments above such sum as the general meetings fix from time to time, and subject thereto £5 shall be made by cheques, signed as the society may direct and subject thereto by two of the committee countersigned by the secretary.

110. *Seal of the Society—its Custody and Use.*—The society shall have its name engraven in legible characters upon a seal, which shall bear such device as is directed by the special rules, and shall be in such custody as the society may direct, and subject thereto such as the committee appoint; and shall be used only under the authority of a reso-

lution of the committee, the date whereof shall be mentioned on the instrument to which the seal is attached; and shall be attested as the society may direct, and subject thereto by the signature of two members of the committee and the countersign of the secretary. [See the Act, schedule II. (11).]

111. *Use of Name of the Society.*—The name of the society shall be mentioned in legible characters in all notices, advertisements, and official publications, bills of exchange, promissory notes, endorsements, cheques, or orders for money or goods purporting to be signed by or on behalf of the society, and on all bills of parcels, invoices, receipts, or letters of credit of the society, and shall be conspicuously painted or affixed, and kept painted or affixed, on the outside of every office or place of business of the society. [See the Act, § 10 (1, b).]

112. *Complaints and Suggestions by Members.*—A member who has any complaint to make as to the quality, quantity, or price of any goods supplied by the society, or the conduct of any officer or servant of the society, or any suggestions for better carrying into effect the objects of the society, shall send the particulars of such complaint or suggestion to the committee, who shall inquire into and decide upon them, subject to an appeal from any such decision to an ordinary business meeting; but no such complaint shall be brought before any such meeting except on appeal.

113. *Employment of Members.*—Except the committee should direct otherwise in any case, the holding shares in the society shall not be required as a condition of employment.

Sec. 6.—Evidence.

114. *Minutes to be Evidence of Proceedings.*—The minutes of all meetings of the society or committee, containing such particulars as the committee direct from time to time, shall be regularly recorded by the secretary; and the minutes of every monthly or ordinary business meeting of the society, and of every meeting of the committee, shall be read at the next of such meetings respectively, and signed by the chairman of the meeting at which they are so read, and the minutes of every special general meeting shall be read at the

meeting of the committee following, and signed by the chairman of such meeting; and all minutes so signed shall, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, be taken as between the society and every member thereof to be a true statement of any matter therein contained, subject to the correction of any patent error.

115. *What to be sufficient Notice.*—Every member shall be taken to have due notice of every meeting, resolution, or other matter of which notice is required by the rules of the society to be given, if the same is made known in such manner as the society may direct, and subject thereto and to any special direction in these rules by posting or sending a notice to the registered address of such member.

CHAPTER VII.—ACCOUNTS AND RETURNS.

Sec. 1.—The Auditors.

116. *Number of Auditors.*—There shall be such number of auditors as the society may direct, and subject thereto, and to the appointment of any public auditor, two auditors.

117. *Appointment of Auditors:*

(1) The auditors shall be appointed and retire as the society may direct, and subject thereto shall be elected at the first ordinary business meeting of the society after this rule is registered; and afterwards one shall retire and one shall be elected at each ordinary business meeting, the order of retirement of the first auditors being fixed by themselves;

(2) A retiring auditor shall be re-eligible;

(3) A vacancy in the appointment of an auditor may be filled up by the committee;

(4) No servant of the society can be an auditor;

(5) Any such meeting, in lieu of electing an auditor, may direct that the accounts shall be audited by a public auditor appointed under the Act, named thereby; and thereupon the appointment of the then continuing auditor shall be vacated, and the audit shall be conducted by such public auditor;

(6) Any subsequent general meeting may vary such direction by substituting the name of another public

auditor, or, by a resolution whereof notice has been given as in the case of a special general meeting, may rescind the same; and thereupon the meeting shall elect auditors, who shall retire and be re-eligible as is provided by clauses (1) to (8).

118. *Duties of the Auditors.*

(1) *General.*—The auditors shall audit the accounts of the society to be prepared by the committee as hereinbefore provided, for the period intervening from the formation of the society, or their last audit, to such time as the society may direct, and subject thereto to the beginning of the last calendar month previous to each ordinary business meeting, and shall lay before it a balance sheet of the receipts and expenditure of the society during the period to which the audit extends, and a statement of its assets and liabilities at the time of such audit, both signed by them, which shall specify the total amount of all moneys borrowed by the society, distinguishing the character of the securities on which each is obtained.

(2) *Annual Return.*—The auditors shall examine the annual return after-mentioned, and verify the same, with the accounts relating thereto, and shall either sign the same as found by them to be correct, duly vouched and in accordance with law, or specially report to the society in what respects they find it incorrect, unvouched, or not in accordance with law. [See the Act, § 10 (1, c).]

119. *Powers of the Auditors.*—The auditors shall be entitled to call for and examine any paper or document belonging to the society, and shall make a special report to the society upon any matter connected with the accounts which appears to them to require notice.

120. *Audited Accounts to be Binding on the Members.*—Every balance sheet signed by the auditors and approved of by the meeting to which it is presented, shall be binding on all members of the society, excepting as to any error therein exceeding such sum as the society may direct, and subject thereto the sum of ten pounds, brought before the next ordinary business meeting.

121. *Copy of Accounts and Report.*—A copy of the last balance sheet of the society and of the report of the auditors

shall be kept always hung up in a conspicuous place in the registered office of the society. [See the Act, § 10 (1, g).]

122. *Remuneration of the Auditors.*—The auditors shall receive such remuneration as the ordinary business meetings vote them from time to time.

Sec. 2—Inspection of Accounts.

123. *Individual Right of Inspection.*—Any member or person having an interest in the funds of the society may inspect the books and the names of the members at all reasonable hours at the registered office of the society, or at any place where the same are kept, subject to such regulations as to the time and manner of such inspection as may be made from time to time by the general meetings of the society, except that no such member or person, unless he be an officer of the society, or be specially authorised by a resolution thereof, shall have the right to inspect the loan or deposit account of any other member without his written consent. [See the Act, § 10 (1, e).]

124. *Inspection on Order of the Registrar:*

(1) An application may be made under section 15 of the Act—

(a) To appoint one or more inspectors to examine into the affairs of the society and to report thereon;

(b) To call a special meeting of the society in manner and for the purposes provided by such sections.

(2) The application may be made—

(a) If the number of members does not amount to 1,000, by one-fifth part thereof;

(b) If it amounts to 1,000, but does not exceed 10,000, by 100 members;

(c) If it exceeds 10,000, by 500 members.

(3) The application must be supported by such evidence for the purpose of showing that the applicants have good reason for requiring such inspection to be made or meeting called, and are not actuated by malicious motives therein, and be made on such notice to the society as the chief registrar directs.

(4) Unless the registrar to whom it is made directs otherwise, all expenses of and incidental to any inspec-

tion or meeting ordered by him shall be defrayed out of the funds of the society. [See the Act, § 15 (1-4.)]

Sec. 3.—Annual Return.

125. *What, and When to be Made:*

(1) The committee shall, at such time before the 1st day of June in each year as they determine, send to the registrar a general statement, to be called the annual return, of the receipts and expenditure, funds and effects of the society as audited, which—

(a) Shall show separately the expenditure in respect of the several objects of the society;

(b) Shall be made up to the 31st day of December then last inclusively;

(c) Shall state whether the audit has been conducted by a public auditor appointed as by the Act is provided, and by whom;

(d) If the audit has been conducted by any person other than a public auditor, shall state the name, address, and calling or profession of each such person, and the manner in which and the authority under which he is appointed.

(2) Together with such return the committee shall send a copy of every auditor's report during the year whereof the same return relates. [See the Act, § 10 (1, d, g).]

126. *Copies of Annual Return and Rules.*—It shall be the duty of the committee to supply to every member or person interested in the funds of the society, on his application—

(1) Gratuitously a copy of the last annual return for the time being of the society. [See the Act, § 10 (1, f).]

(2) To every person on demand a copy of the rules at such price, not exceeding one shilling, as the committee fix from time to time. [See the Act, § 9 (5).]

CHAPTER VIII.—PROFITS.

Primary Charges.

127. The profits of all business carried on by, or on account of, the society shall be applied as follows:—

(1) *Interest on Loans.*—In payment of the interest upon any loans or deposits, and the dividend on any preferential shares, according to the rates respectively agreed to be paid;

(2) *Reduction of Fixed Stock, &c.*—In reduction of the value of the fixed stock and plant of the society, at such rate as the society may direct, and subject thereto, at the annual rate of 10 per cent on fixtures, and of 2½ per cent on shops, warehouses, or other buildings;

(3) *Reduction of Preliminary Expenses.*—In the reduction of the preliminary expenses (if any) incurred in forming the society, and remaining unwritten off in its books, at such rate, being not less than £5 per cent per annum, as the ordinary business meetings on the recommendation of the committee from time to time direct;

(4) *Dividend on Share Capital.*—In payment of a dividend upon the ordinary capital not exceeding such rates as the society may direct, and subject thereto £6 per cent on transferable shares, and £5 per cent on withdrawable shares, any share withdrawn participating in the dividend up to the time of payment at the rate last declared.

(5) *Reserve Fund.*—In forming, by applying such percentage of the net profits after providing for the preceding charges as the committee determine, a reserve fund to which all fines shall be carried, applicable, by a resolution of the ordinary business meetings on the recommendation of the committee—

(a) To the equalisation of dividends;

(b) To meet any other contingency affecting the business of the society;

(c) To any other purpose which the general meetings direct from time to time;

(6) *Educational Fund.*—In promoting instruction, culture, or recreation, by forming an education fund, to which such proportion as the society may direct, and subject thereto 2½ per cent of the net profits, or such larger sum as any ordinary business meeting may vote, shall be carried;

(7) *Congress Fund.*—In paying such subscription to the funds of the Co-operative Union, and to any official organ recognised by the congress, as the congress may fix:

(8) *Social Fund.*—In promoting any other social or provident purpose authorised by any special general meeting, or any two successive ordinary business meetings, by applying thereto such sums as the ordinary business meetings may vote.

128. *Educational, Provident, and Social Funds :*

(1) *Qualification of Rule as to.*—The provisions (6) and (8) of Rule 127 may be qualified or superseded by the resolution of any special general meeting.

(2) *Mode of Dealing with—Special Accounts, and Committees for.*—The funds appropriated under the last-named provisions shall be applied for their respective objects in such manner as the ordinary business meetings direct from time to time, and separate accounts shall be kept thereof. In every case where specific funds are voted for educational, provident, or social purposes, a separate account shall be kept of all sums voted for such purposes, and a special committee of such number of members, appointed in such manner as is fixed by such ordinary business meetings from time to time, shall be named in each case, who shall be responsible to them for the due application of the funds placed under their care; and the accounts of all such funds shall be regularly audited by the auditors of the society and submitted to the ordinary business meetings, at such periods as they direct from time to time, and subject thereto at each such meeting.

129. *Members in Arrears of Subscriptions.*—No interest or dividend shall be paid to any member who is in arrear of his subscriptions, but all such moneys shall be applied so far as they extend in payment of all such arrears, priority being given to the arrears due upon transferable shares over those due on withdrawable shares.

130. *Dividends when not passed by a Transfer.*—Dividends or interest on shares transferred within six days, or such other time as the ordinary business meetings fix before the time when they become payable, shall be paid to the transferor unless he directs otherwise.

[For the division of surplus profits and the capitalisation of profits see Appendix, page 47.]

CHAPTER IX.—DISPUTES AND EXPULSION OF MEMBERS.

131. *Disputes—how to be determined.*—All disputes arising between a member, or any person claiming through a member, or under the rules of the society, and the society or any officer thereof, shall be dealt with as the society may direct under the Act [sec. 14], and subject thereto, shall be dealt with as follows:—

(1) *Appointment of Arbitrators.*—At the first or any subsequent general meeting of the society after this rule is registered such number of arbitrators as the society may direct, and subject thereto five, shall be elected, none of whom are directly or indirectly interested in the funds of the society.

(2) *Mode of Selection.*—In any case of dispute the secretary of the society, or such other person as the committee direct, shall, in the presence of the complaining party or someone appointed by him, write the names of the arbitrators for the time being upon separate pieces of paper, and place them so that the names shall be concealed in a box or other receptacle, from which the complaining party or his representative shall draw out three, and the persons whose names are so drawn shall be the arbitrators to decide the dispute.

(3) *Vacancies* in the number of arbitrators shall be filled by the first general meeting after they occur, and if not then filled by the committee.

(4) *If Arbitrators fewer than Three.*—Two arbitrators shall be competent to hear and decide any question, but shall, before hearing it, appoint an umpire, by whom, if they differ, the question shall be determined.

(5) The costs of an arbitration shall be borne as the arbitrators direct, and each party shall deposit such sum as the society directs, and subject thereto 10s. to abide their decision.

132. *How a Member may be Expelled.*—A member may be expelled in such manner as the society may direct, and

subject thereto by the vote of two-thirds of the members present at a special general meeting of the society, upon a charge in writing of conduct detrimental to the society, communicated to him by order of the committee for such time as the society may direct, and subject thereto for one calendar month before the meeting.

183. *Payment of Expelled Member.*—A member so expelled shall be paid the full sum paid on any shares in the society held by him at the date of the resolution for his expulsion; and all transferable shares held by him shall be extinguished upon such payment being tendered, whether the member accept the tender or not; and an entry referring to the minute of expulsion and the date of such tender shall be made on the register of shares under all such shares.

184. *Re-admission of Expelled Member.*—Unless the society directs otherwise, no expelled member shall be re-admitted except by a vote of two-thirds of the members present at an ordinary business meeting, on a motion of which notice has been given.

CHAPTER X.—ALTERATION OF RULES.

185. *Majority Requisite to make Alterations.*—Any rule of the society not declared to be fundamental in manner hereinafter stated, may be repealed or altered, or any new rule be made, by such majority as the society may direct of the members voting at any special general meeting, and subject thereto by a majority of two-thirds.

186. *Fundamental Rules.*—The special rules of the society may declare any rule of the society therein mentioned, including this provision, to be fundamental; and no rule comprised in such declaration shall be repealed or altered without such consent so given as is thereby specified.

187. *Additions or Alterations.*—Application for the registration of every addition, repeal, or alteration shall be made to the registrar for the country where the society is established, in manner and form required by the Treasury regulations, so soon as is practicable after the same has been made; and a copy thereof shall be issued with every copy of the rules issued after the registration thereof.

CHAPTER XI.—CHANGE OF NAME, AMALGAMATION, CONVERSION INTO A COMPANY, & DISSOLUTION.

188. *Change of Name, &c.*—The society may, by special resolution passed in manner prescribed by the Act,—

(1) Change its name with the approval of the registrar* in writing;

(2) Amalgamate with or transfer its engagements to any other society or company, or accept any such transfer;

(3) Convert itself into a company under the Companies Acts as in the Act prescribed. [See the Act, § 16 (1)–(7).]

189. *Dissolution.*—The society may be voluntarily dissolved:—

(1) By a resolution to wind it up, made as is directed in regard to companies by the Companies Act, 1862.

(2) By an instrument of dissolution signed by three-fourths of the members for the time being, and in the form prescribed by the regulations in force under the Act. [See § 17 (3).]

CHAPTER XII.—FORMS OF INSTRUMENTS.

140. *Instruments shall have the following Forms.*—The instruments referred to in the preceding rules shall be in the forms following, or as near thereto as the case allows. The date, the name of the society, and, if the case requires, an address to the committee shall in all cases be prefixed:—

(1) *Application for Admission by an Individual:*

(a) *By Application for Shares.*—I, the undersigned, hereby apply for [transferable] or [withdrawable] shares in the above-named society, in respect of which I agree to make the payments required by the rules of the society, and otherwise to be bound thereby.

Signature of applicant, stating his address and occupation.

(b) *By Payment for a Copy of Rules.*—Received this day a copy of the rules of the above-named society, for which I have paid [on account of the undermen-

* The Chief Registrar in England, or the Assistant Registrar for Ireland or Scotland, if the society is registered and does business exclusively there.

tioned applicant*] the sum required to be paid on an application for admission to the society.

Signature as above, or if the payment is made by any other person than the applicant, of this person, stating the name, address, and occupation of the applicant.

(2) *Application for Shares by a Society or Company.*

—We, the undersigned, secretary and two of the committee of management of the [Society Limited] hereinafter called the applicant, in virtue of a resolution thereof, dated the _____ day of _____, hereby apply on its behalf for [transferable] or [withdrawable] shares in the above-named society, in respect of which the applicant hereby agrees to make all payments required by the rules of the above-named society, and otherwise to be bound thereby. In witness whereof we have signed our names hereto, by the authority of the society.

Signatures of the members of the committee, and countersign of the secretary, stating respectively their qualifications as such, and the registered office of the applicant.

The same form applies to a company, substituting company, with or without limited as the case may be, for [Society Limited], and board of directors for committee.

(8) *Transfer between Individuals.*—This instrument, made the _____ day of _____ 18____, between A of _____, and B of _____, witnesses, that in consideration of the sum of £____, paid by the said B to me, I, the said A, hereby transfer to the said B, his executors, administrators, and assigns, the _____ shares, numbered _____, now standing in my name in the books of the above-named society, to hold the said shares upon the same conditions on which I now hold the same, and that I, the said B, hereby accept the said shares, subject to the said conditions. In witness whereof we have hereto set our hands.

Name of Transferor.

Name of Transferee.

(4) *Transfer between Societies or Companies.*—This instrument, made the _____ day of _____ 18____, between the _____ Society Limited, established

*Omit the words in brackets if the payment is made by the Applicant.

at _____, hereinafter called the vendor, of the one part, and the _____ Society Limited, established at _____ hereinafter called the purchaser, of the other part, in consideration of £____ paid by the purchaser to the vendor, witnesses that the vendor hereby transfers the _____ shares numbered, _____ now standing in the name of the vendor in the books of the above-named society, to the purchaser, and the assigns of such purchaser, to hold the same upon the same conditions on which they are held by the vendor; and that the purchaser accepts the said shares subject to the said conditions. In witness whereof the seals of the said societies are hereto attached, by the resolutions of the committees thereof, dated respectively the _____ day of _____ and the _____ day of _____

N.B.—The seals of the societies and signatures of the committee and secretary must be affixed as in form (2). The same form applies, with the necessary changes, to transfers between companies.

(5) *Agreement or Bond of Security by Officers in England or Ireland:* [See the Act, schedule III. (1).]

(a) *Without a Surety.*—This agreement, made the _____ day of _____ between A. B., of _____ and the _____ Society Limited, established at _____ in the county of _____ herein called the society. Whereas the said A. B. has been appointed to the office of _____ in the society on condition of his entering into this agreement. Now it is hereby witnessed as follows:

The society agrees with the said A. B.,

[State salary or other equivalent, if any; if not omit this part altogether.]

The said A. B., in consideration of the premises, agrees with the _____ society to render a just and true account of all moneys received and paid by him on account of the society, at such times as the rules thereof appoint, and to pay over all the moneys remaining in his hands, and assign and transfer or deliver over all property (including books and papers) belonging to the society in his hands or custody to such person or persons as the society or the committee thereof appoint, according to

the rules of the society, together with the proper and legal vouchers for such payments;

And in case of any default in performance of these agreements, then that he, his heirs, executors, or administrators shall pay the society the sum of pounds as liquidated damages. In witness whereof the said A. B. and the undersigned C. D., in the name and by the authority of the society, have set their hands the year and day first aforesaid.

Witness
to the } A. B.
Signatures. } C. D. (Description of office (if any) held by him in the society.)

(b) *With a Surety.*—Know all men by these presents that we, A B, of one of the officers of the Society Limited, established in the county of , and C D, as surety for and on behalf of the said A B, are jointly and severally held and firmly bound to the said society in the sum of to be paid to the said society or their certain attorney, for which payment well and truly to be made we jointly and severally bind ourselves and each of us by himself, our and each of our heirs, executors, and administrators, firmly by these presents sealed with our seals.

Dated this day of

Whereas the above bornden A B has been duly appointed to the office of of the society established as aforesaid, and he, together with the above bounden C D, as his surety, have entered into the above-contained bond, subject to the conditions herein-after contained; now, therefore the condition of the above-contained bond is such that if the said A B do render a just and true account of all moneys received and paid by him on account of the said society, at such times as the rules thereof appoint, and do pay over all the moneys remaining in his hands, and assign and transfer or deliver over all property (including books and papers) belonging to the said society in his hands or custody to such person or persons as the said society or the committee thereof appoint, according to the rules of the said society, together with the proper and legal vouchers for such payments, then the above-contained

bond shall be void, but otherwise shall remain in full force.

The seals and signatures of the officer and surety should be affixed here. The seal may be a wafer put opposite the name of the signing party, on which he should put one finger, and say, I deliver this as my act and deed.

Sealed and delivered in the presence of us—
C D, of
E F, of

There must be two witnesses to each signature, but the same persons may witness both. If the officer and his surety sign before different witnesses the form of witnessing should be repeated.

The reason of using an agreement instead of a bond where there is no surety is, that an agreement if not under seal is liable to a stamp duty of 6d only, while a bond is liable to duty at the rate of 2s. 6d. for every £100, while an agreement is equally effectual in this case. For a surety a bond is preferable as more safe against legal objection.

(c) *In Scotland.*—Form of bond of surety. [See the Act, schedule III. (2).]

I, A B, of hereby bind and oblige myself to the extent of £ , at most as caution and security for C D, a person employed by the Society Limited, that he, the said C D, shall, on demand, faithfully and truly account for all moneys received and paid by him for behoof of the said society, and also assign and transfer or deliver over all property, including books and papers, belonging to the said society in his hands or custody, and that to such person or persons as the said society, or the committee thereof appoint, according to the rules of the said society.

Dated at this day of
Signature of Cautioner.

E F, of witness.
G H, of witness.

N.B.—The Act provides that the above bond shall not require a testing clause or a subscription clause, and may be wholly written or wholly printed, or partly written and partly printed.

(6) *Condition of a Bond by or as security for a Manager or Storekeeper who has charge of Goods as*

well as of Money.—The condition of the above-written bond is such that if the said A B discharge the duties of his said office without embezzling, misapplying, unlawfully making away with, or wilfully or carelessly wasting or losing any of the moneys, goods, chattels, merchandise, or effects in his charge or keeping, and do render a just and true account, &c. [as in form 5].

(7) *Bond creating a Charge on Land.*—Know all men by these presents that the Society Limited, established at _____, in the county of _____, is held and firmly bound to

(hereinafter called the obligee), in the sum of [double the amount secured], to be paid to the said obligee, or his certain attorney or assigns; for which payment, well and truly to be made, the said society binds itself by these presents, sealed with its seal, attested as is required by its rules [hereby further declaring that the said sum shall be a charge upon all the lands of the society mentioned in the schedule hereto annexed, which are hereby made a specific security to the obligee or his assigns for the payment thereof].

Dated the _____ day of _____ 18 .

[Then is to follow the condition of the bond, stating the sum to be paid and the terms of payment, on compliance with which the bond is to become void; then the schedule, which should be headed

Schedule of lands charged with the payment of the sum mentioned in the above-written bond:—

NAME OF LAND.	SITUATION.	QUANTITY.

And finally the seal of the society, attested by the signatures required by the rules.

(8) *A common money bond* may be framed from this bond by omitting the words between brackets beginning "hereby further declaring," and ending "payment thereof."

APPENDIX.

DISTRIBUTIVE SOCIETY.

DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS.

141. *Division of Net Profits.*—The remainder of the net profits left after providing for the charges specified in rule 127 shall be divided as the society may direct, and subject thereto between—

(1) *The members* not under notice of total withdrawal who have made purchases of the society during the period to which the division relates, according to the amount of their purchases;

(2) *The non-members* who have made purchases of the society during such period, according to the amount of their purchases, provided that the sum so divided shall not exceed one-half of the sum to which they would be entitled as members;

(3) *The employés* of the society at such rate, not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on the gross sales and $\frac{1}{4}$ d. in the £ on the net profits, as the ordinary business meetings fix, to be divided among them as such meetings direct.

142. *Capitalisation of Dividends:*

(1) Subject to rule 143, all dividends not withdrawn within such time as the society may direct, and subject thereto within one calendar month after they become receivable, shall be applied in or towards the payment of shares, which shall be either transferable or withdrawable as the society may direct, and subject thereto may be withdrawn at one week's notice for any sum up to £5, and one additional week for each additional sum not exceeding £5; and shall be credited to the members respectively in the books of the society until the number of shares held by any member reaches the limit

allowed by the Act, or such inferior limit as the society may direct, after which they shall be credited to such member as loans, withdrawable on such notice, not less than one calendar month, as the committee may determine from time to time;

(2) No fine shall be charged in respect of any share so placed to the credit of any member.

143. *General Meetings may Capitalise Profits in certain Cases.*—The ordinary business meetings may direct that the appropriation of the proportion of the net profits of the society, authorised by clauses (5), (6), and (8) of rule 127, and (1), (2), and (8) of rule 141 shall be made by paid-up shares, which may be either transferable or withdrawable, as the society may direct, and subject thereto shall be transferable.

FEDERAL UNION.

144. *Wholesale Purchases—how to be made.*—This society shall become a member of such co-operative wholesale society as the society may direct, and subject thereto of the Co-operative Wholesale Society established at Manchester.

The foregoing rules are the general rules referred to in the rules signed by us:—

Secretary.

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140. Instruments shal. have the forms
following:—

- (1) Application for admission by an individual.
- (2) Application for shares by a society or company.
- (3) Transfer between individuals.
- (4) Transfer between societies or companies.
- (5) Security by officers in England or Ireland, without and with surety. In Scotland, surety bond.
- (6) Condition of bond for a manager or storekeeper.
- (7) Bond creating a charge on land.
- (8) Common money bond.

MSH 25786

**END OF
TITLE**